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# **PUBLIC SPEECHES**

## **in Ancient & Medieval India**

(Based on Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature)

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**AJANTA BOOKS INTERNATIONAL**

11, INDRAPRASTHA GAURIA MATH, MALKA GANJ,  
DELHI-110007.

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REVISED EDITION 1976

Rs. 25.00

Published by : J. K. ATWAL for AJANTA PUBLICATIONS (INDIA)  
DELHI and Printed at Taj Offset Press, Jama Masjid, Delhi-6

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	
Introduction	1
From the Rāmāyaṇa	7
From Cicero's Orations	17
From the Mahābhārata	18
From the Vāyupurāṇa	26
From the Matsyapurāṇa	28
From the Vishṇupurāṇa	31
From Saṃyutta Nikāya	39
From Buddha's Life	41
From Aśoka's Life	43
From Bhāsa	45
From Kālidāsa	49
From Bhāravi	50
From Bhatti	55
From Bāṇa's Harsha-charitam	62
From Mṛichchhakaṭikam	66
From Bhavabhūti	70
From Māgha	76
From Rājatarāṅgiṇī	79
From Vikramāṅkadeva-charitam	87
Conclusion	92

Style	92
Causes of the paucity of public speeches in ancient India	93
The Hindu's competency for writing History	95
Want of Care in preserving historical works	99
The Law of Karma	100
Credulity	106
Causes of idealisation and exaggeration	106
Index	108 to 114

Dedicated to my birth-place Kāñcharāpārā, its Sanskritised form being Kāñchana-pallī or golden village, formerly called Narahatta, founded on the delta of Bhāgīrathī and the Yamunā and facing Varṇasabāti and Trivenī, situated about three miles northwest of the present Railway Station and locomotive workshop (of the E.B. Ry.) named after it, now almost depopulated by malaria and deserted by many of her sons, once celebrated for votaries of Sanskrit and Bengali learning like Iśvarachandra Gupta, (the poet and the editor of the Prabhākara), Vidyānātha Āchāryya (the author of Ajñānatimiranāśaka, (*lit.*, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance), Premchānd Kaviratna, (the author of Jñānārṇava, *lit.*, the ocean of wisdom), Nīmachand Śīromaṇi, (the eminent Professor of Nyāya Philosophy at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Harimohan Sen Gupta (the translator of Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa and Tulsidāsa's Rāmāyaṇa) and Śaśi-bhushaṇa Rāya (the translator into Bengali verse of Śrīmad-bhāgavatam and Yogavāsishṭha-Rāmāyaṇam and editor of the Kancharāpārā Patrikā, a monthly magazine), the village being famous in the past also for her Aāyurvedic physicians whose diagnostic and therapeutic skill very often snatched patients from death's door, well-known once for her trade specially in gold and silver to which her name and the scales (*nikti*) still sold at Barābazār, Calcutta, bear ample testimony, and celebrated for her beautiful temple (built by the Malliks of Calcutta) of Krishna Rāyā, the deity installed by the Vaiṣṇava Sena Śivānanda and provided with a building (later on demolished by the Bhāgīrathī) by Kāchu Rāya the uncle of Pratāpāditya (the famous Bengali patriot and hero of Jessore),

In the Pras'nopanishad (composed about 1000 B. C.) attached to the Atharvaveda we find Pippalāda Rishi's attempt at elucidating an abstruse idea to his disciples by means of analogy, "As the shadow of a man is caused by him, so life springs from the All-Soul and merges in it on extinction. As an emperor appoints separate governors to separate provinces, so life apportions duties to the various sense-organs . . . . As a heavenly body like the sun reflected on different kinds of liquid appears to be different, so intelligence in perceiving different things appears to be different. As different rivers, when they fall into the ocean, lose their separate identities and names and assume the designation of the ocean, so the sixteen k ā l a s or attributes (life, etc.), when they merge in the All-seeing Soul, lose their identities and names, and are called 'The Soul'."

Eloquence or the art of persuasion by means of a fluent speech implies, as Cicero says in his *De Oratore* or the Character of an Orator, "the knowledge of a vast number of things . . . . Speech itself is to be formed, not merely by choice, but by a careful construction of words; and all the emotions of the mind, which nature has given to man, must be intimately known; for all the force and art of speaking must be

employed in exciting or allaying the feelings of those who listen. To this must be added a certain portion of grace and wit, learning worthy of a well-bred man and quickness and brevity in replying as well as attacking accompanied with a refined decorum and urbanity. Besides the whole of antiquity and a multitude of examples are to be kept in the memory . . . And why need I add any remarks on delivery itself which is to be ordered by the action of the body, by gesture, by look and by modulation and variation of the voice? . . . Let us then cease to wonder at what is the cause of the scarcity of good speakers, since eloquence results from all those qualifications in each of which singly it is a great merit to labour successfully<sup>1</sup>.

Public speaking or eloquent speeches addressed to the masses or to a fairly large number of men flourish naturally in democracies.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Schleinger (translated by Mr. Skellon) says, " We encounter it (eloquence) in all its glory among two ancient peoples, the Greeks and the Romans . . . . Among the Greek States Athens was specially famous for her eloquence. The democratic nature of her republican constitution

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1. Translation by J. Watson (Bohn.)

2. See also Conclusion.

and the freedom of debate allowed on all matters of public interest made the gift of words a mighty weapon in the hands of the demagogue . . . . The very conflict of eminent speakers always tended to raise the art to higher perfection . . . . After the loss of her freedom Attic eloquence declined . . . . At Rome oratory had great obstacles to overcome. Not only could it gain but a partial hearing amid the clash of arms, but the stern sense of the Romans thought it necessary to issue edicts against the opening of Schools of Rhetoric . . . . But when the Romans became better acquainted with the dialectic nimbleness of the Greeks and the power conferred by a study of Rhetoric, the passion for training flamed up all around, and it had its complete justification in Cicero (106—43 B.C.) the worthy rival of the greatest of the Greek orators . . . . Under the Caesars, as with the Greeks in their decadence, eloquence lost all its essential moral characteristics, and with them its loftiness, its warmth and its naturalness. A certain excess of poetical expressions, a delusive brilliance in thoughts and words, a pointing of epigram, alliteration and antithesis, above all affectation and striving after effect—those were the features that marked the decline of the once mighty eloquence of Rome . . . .

Among natives of more modern times, eloquence could only develop naturally where after the formation of a cultured language, the state-policy was favourable and sanctioned some degree of free speech. Such was the case in England, France, America and much later in Germany and in other countries, where trials were held in public and the parliamentary system became part of the constitution."

Cicero, the greatest of the Roman orators, says that fluent speaking cannot be mastered in schools, but is to be acquired in public assemblies. This fact explains the lack of good public speakers in ancient and medieval India, though long arguments composed in an ornate style and accompanied with cogent reasoning are frequent in the various departments of Sankrit Literature. Cicero adds "When Demosthenes was to speak in public, all Greece flocked in crowds to hear him. But when our 'Attic' orators venture to speak they are presently deserted . . . . If to speak in a dry and lifeless manner is the true criterion of 'Atticism', they are heartily welcome to enjoy the credit of it; but if they wish to put their abilities to the trial, let them attend the Comitia or a judicial process of real importance. The open forum



demands a fuller and a more elevated tone ; and he is the orator for me, who is so universally admired, that when he is to plead an interesting cause, all the benches are filled beforehand,.....and the whole audience is hushed into a profound silence, which is soon interrupted by their repeated plaudits and acclamations or by those successive bursts of laughter or violent transports of passion, which he knows how to excite at his pleasure . . . . Whoever has the happiness to be thus followed and applauded is beyond dispute an 'Attic' speaker ; for such was Pericles, such were Hyperides and Aeschines, and such in the most eminent degree was the great Demosthenes."<sup>1</sup>

Though forensic oratory and eloquent appeal to the masses are rare in the literature of ancient and mediæval India <sup>2</sup> it may be stated that carefully prepared speeches addressed to select audiences are to be found specially in the Epics, where good speaking is highly lauded and where Rāma, for example, is described as expert in speaking, Bhārata as the greatest of orators (वदता वर), Hanumān as skilful in speech and Kṛishṇa as the greatest of speakers and most skilful in elocution.

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1. 'Brutus' translated by J. Watson. 2. See also Conclusion.

In extracting passages from the Rāmāyaṇa (composed about 900 B.C.) we may state that though there is a considerable quantity of fiction in this great Epic, yet there is in it a substratum of history as is attested by tradition and geographical names like Kauśāmbī, Kānyakubja, Ayodhya, Rājagṛīha or Gīrivraja (in Kekaya or Jalalpur), Chitrakūṭa, Pāñchavati or Nāsik, Rāmeśvaram, Dhanushkoṭi &c. in India and Sitā-Eliya and Nuwara-Eliya in Ceylon <sup>1</sup>. This is also the opinion of scholars like Mr. F. E. Pargiter, who says. "The story of Rāma brings South India into view definitely for the first time. As related in the Epics it appears largely as fable, yet the fabric must have grown out of some basis."<sup>2</sup>

Daśaratha intending to instal his eldest son Rāma as Yuvaraja or heir-apparent addresses the following to the assembled princes, ministers and citizens :—

ततः परिषदं सर्वमामन्त्र्य वसुधाधिपः ।

हितमुद्धरणं चैवमुवाच प्रथितं वचः ॥

1. Pātaliputra and Śrāvastī which were founded later on are naturally omitted. 'Yavana', though it occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, is an interpolation as Jacobi has stated.

2. 'Earliest Indian Traditional History' (J. R. A. S., 1914). See also my Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya, p. 4.

दुन्दुभिस्वरकल्पेन गम्भीरेणानुनादिना ।  
 स्वरेण महता राजा जीमूत इव नादयन् ॥  
 राजलक्षणयुक्तेन कान्तेनानुपमेन च ।  
 उवाच रसयुक्तेन स्वरेण नृपतिर्नृपान् ॥  
 विदितं भवतामेतद् यथा मे राज्यमुत्तमम् ।  
 पूर्वकैर्मम राजेन्द्रैः सुतवत् परिपालितम् ॥  
 सोऽहमिद्वत्कुभिः सर्वैर्नरेन्द्रैः प्रतिपालितम् ।  
 श्रेयसा योक्तुमिच्छामि सुखार्हमखिलं जगत् ॥  
 मयाप्याचरितं पूर्वं पन्थानमनुगच्छता ।  
 प्रजा नित्यमनिद्रेण यथाशक्याभिरक्षिता ॥  
 इदं शरीरं कृत्स्नस्य लोकस्य चरता हितम् ।  
 पाण्डुरस्यातपत्तस्य ह्यायायां जरितं मया ॥  
 प्राप्य वर्षसहस्राणि बहुन्यायूंषि जीवितः ।  
 जीर्णस्यास्य शरीरस्य विश्रान्तिमभिरोचये ॥  
 राजप्रभावज्ञष्टाञ्च दुर्वहामजितेन्द्रियैः ।  
 परिश्रान्तोऽस्मि लोकस्य गुर्वी धर्मधुरं वहन् ॥  
 सोऽहं विश्राममिच्छामि पुत्रं कृत्वा प्रजाहिते ।  
 सन्निकृष्टानिमान् सर्वाननुमान्य द्विजर्षभान् ॥  
 अनुजातो हि मां सर्वैर्गुणैः श्रेष्ठो ममात्मजः ।  
 पुरन्दरसमो वीर्य्ये रामः परपुरञ्जयः ॥  
 तं चन्द्रमिव पुष्येण युक्तं धर्मभृतां वरम् ।  
 यौवराज्ये नियोक्तास्मि प्रातः पुरुषपुङ्गवम् ॥

अनुरूपः स वो नाथो लक्ष्मीवान् लक्ष्मणाग्रजः ।

त्रैलोक्यमपि नाथेन येन स्यान्नाथवत्तरम् ॥

अनेन श्रेयसा सद्यः संयोद्धयेऽहमिमां महीम् ।

गतक्लेशो भविष्यामि सुते तस्मिन्निवेरय वै ॥

यदिदं मेऽनुरूपार्थं मया साधु सुमान्त्रितम् ।

भवन्तो मेऽनुमन्यन्तां कथं वा करवाण्यहम् ॥

यद्यप्येषा मम प्रीतिर्हितमन्यद्विचिन्त्यताम् ।

अन्या मध्यस्थचिन्ता तु विमर्दाभ्यधिकोदया ॥

(Rāmāyaṇam, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍam, Canto II, verses 1 to 16.

[Then the king of the whole world inviting all the members of the Assembly in a loud sonorous voice like that of the drum or of the cloud, but at the same time with pleasant and kinglike accents, addressed to them the following excellent, delightful and celebrated words—"Ye are aware that my royal predecessors ruled this good kingdom, as a father brings up his children. I also following the track of my ancestors have vigilantly protected my subjects to the best of my power. For the good of this extensive kingdom rendered happy by the rule of the I k s h ĩ ā k u family I want to tell you—I have rendered my body infirm in exercising the rights of sovereignty (*lit.*, by living under the shade of the white umbrella, which is an emblem of royalty) for the wellbeing of my

numerous subjects. Having lived a very long life (*lit.*, a thousand years) I want rest for my decrepit body. I have become fatigued by the performance of duties too heavy for men lacking self-control, though with the aid of royal privileges. Therefore I long for rest after appointing my son as vicegerent for the good of my subjects, with the permission of all these honourable twice-born gentlemen who are present. Rāma, the conqueror of foreign kingdoms, who is valiant like Indra (the King of the Gods), is endowed with all my virtues. So I want to instal to-morrow morning as my Vicegerent the most pious and best of men who is capable of doing good like the Moon when it is joined by Pushya (the constellation Hercules). Rāma, the graceful eldest brother of Lakshmana, is not only fit to be your ruler but also to be that of the whole world. By making over presently the duties of ruling this kingdom to this the best of men, I shall become free from trouble. If this my proposal, which is to my liking and which appears to me to be good and which has been arrived at after prolonged deliberation, is accepted by you, kindly tell me how I am to carry it out. If there is any suggestion better than this (which I like), think of it, because the judgment of neutrals who take into consideration

circumstances for and against, is likely to be very valuable.”)

In the following passage the high-minded and truthful Rāma says with fatherly affection to the inhabitants of Ayodhyā, who have been following him during his exile and trying to dissuade him from leaving the city—

अनुरक्ता महात्मानं रामं सत्यपराक्रमम् ।

अनुजग्मुः प्रयान्तं तं वनवासाय मानवाः ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

अवेक्ष्यमाणः सस्नेहं चक्षुषा प्रपिवन्निव ।

उवाच रामः सस्नेहं ताः प्रजाः स्वाः प्रजाइव ॥

या प्रीतिर्बहुमानश्च मय्ययोध्यानिवासिनाम् ।

मत्प्रियार्थं विशेषेण भरते सा विधीयताम् ॥

स हि कल्याणचारित्रः कैकेयानन्दवर्द्धनः ।

करिष्यति यथाबद्धः प्रियाणि च हितानि च ॥

ज्ञानवृद्धो वयोवालो मृदुवीर्य्यगुणान्वितः ।

अनुरूपः स वो भर्ता भविष्यति भयापहः ॥

स हि राजगुणैर्युक्तो युवराजः समीक्षितः ।

अपि चापि मया शिष्टैः कार्य्यै वो भर्तृश्चासनम् ॥

न सन्तप्येद्यथा चासौ वनवासं गते मयि ।

महाराजस्तथा कार्य्यो मम प्रियचिकीर्षया ॥

"Residents of A y o d h y ā ! accord for my delight to B h a r a t a the same affection and respect as you have so long done to me. The son of my step-mother K a i k e y i, B h a r a t a, whose character and conduct are unexceptionable, will try to do everything which is properly dear to you and conducive to your well-being. Though he is not old, yet he is wise ; though strong and spirited, yet he is very gentle. Hence there is every likelihood of his becoming your fit ruler, who will rescue you from all fears. As B h a r a t a is endowed with all virtues necessary for his reigning over you, he has been selected as Vicegerent (by the King.) So being guided by me you should carry out the orders of the King. As you seek my welfare, you should act in such a way during my exile as may not aggravate my father's grief."

Here is another extract from the same book of R ā m ā y a ṇ a :—

तस्य साध्वनुमन्यन्त नागरा विविधा जनाः ।

भरतस्य वचः श्रुत्वा रामं प्रत्यनुयाचतः ॥

तमेवं दुःखितं प्रेक्ष्य विलपन्तं यशश्चिनम् ।

रामः कृतात्मा भरतं समाश्वासयदात्मवान् ॥

नात्मनः कामकारो हि पुरुषोऽयमनीश्वरः ।

इतश्चेतरतश्चैनं कृतान्तः परिकर्षति ॥

सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।  
 संयोगा विप्रयोगास्ता मरणान्तश्च जीवितम् ॥  
 यथा फलानां पक्वानां नान्यत्र पतनाद्वयम् ।  
 एवं नरस्य जातस्य नान्यत्र मरणाद्वयम् ॥  
 यथागारं दृढस्थूणं जीर्णं भूत्वावसीदति ।  
 तथावसीदन्ति नरा जरामृत्युवशं गताः ॥  
 अत्येति रजनी या तु सा न प्रतिनिवर्त्तते ।  
 यात्येव यमुना पूर्णा समुद्रमुदकार्णवम् ॥  
 अहोरात्राणि गच्छन्ति सर्व्वेषां प्राणिनामिह ।  
 आयुंषि क्षपयन्त्याशु प्रीष्मे जलमिवांशवः ॥  
 आत्मानमनुशोच त्वं किमन्यमनुशोचसि ।  
 आयुस्तु हीयते यस्य स्थितस्य च गतस्य च ॥

यथा काष्ठञ्च काष्ठञ्च समेयातां महार्णवे ।  
 समेत्य तु व्यपेयातां कालमासाद्य कञ्चन ॥  
 एवं भार्याश्च पुत्राश्च ज्ञातयश्च वसूनि च ।  
 समेत्य व्यवधावन्ति ध्रुवोद्दोषां विनाभवः ॥  
 नात्र कश्चिद्यथाभावं प्राणी समाभिवर्त्तते ।  
 तेन तस्मिन्नसामर्थ्यं प्रेतस्यास्यनुशोचतः ॥

भर्मात्मा सुशुभैः कृतस्नैः क्रतुभिश्चासदक्षिणैः ।  
 स न शोच्यः पिता तात ! स्वर्गतः सत्कृतः सताम् ॥  
 स स्वस्थो भव मा शोको यात्वा चावस तां पुरी ।  
 तथा पित्रा नियुक्तोऽसि वशिना वदतां वर ॥



यत्नाहमपि तेनैव नियुक्तः पुण्यकर्मणा ।  
 तत्रैवाहं करिष्यामि पितुरार्यस्य शासनम् ॥  
 न मया शासनं तस्य त्यक्तं न्याय्यमरिन्दम ।  
 स त्वयापि सदा मान्यः स वै बन्धुः स नः पिता ॥  
 तद्वचः पितुरेवाहं सम्मतं धर्मचारिणाम् ।  
 कर्मणा पालयिष्यामि वनवासेन राघव ॥  
 धार्मिकेणानृशंसेन नरेण गुरुवर्तिना ।  
 भवितव्यं नरव्याघ्र ! परलोकं जिगीषता ॥  
 आत्मानमनुतिष्ठ त्वं स्वभावेन नरर्षभ ।  
 निशाम्य तु शुभं वृत्तं पितुर्दशरथस्य नः ॥

Rāmāyaṇam, Avodhyā Kāṇḍam, canto 105, verses,  
 13 to 21, 26 to 28, 32, 36 to 41.

[ When on the death of his father (D a ś a r a t h a), the sorrowful and weeping B h a r a t a with the cordial approval of the inhabitants of A y o d h y ā, tries to persuade his elder brother, R ā m a, to return to the capital and assume the reins of government, R ā m a, who is endowed with great wisdom and patience, asks him thus (in the presence of his subjects) not to lament for the demise of their father and advises him to return to the metropolis and to reign as his representative, "A man cannot act of his own free-will like God. The all-devouring Time or Y a m a regulates his movements in this world and the next.

Where is accumulation, there is depletion ; where is rise, there is fall ; where is union, there is separation ; where is life, there is death. As a fruit, when it ripens, cannot but fall to the ground, so birth and growth are bound to be followed by death. Even the most strongly-built house supported by pillars is reduced to ruins in course of time. Similarly disease and infirmity bring about a man's decline. The night, which is past, does not return. The Y a m u n a, which flows with its large volume of water to meet the ocean, does not come back. As during the hot season the rays of the sun cause water to evaporate, so the regular succession of days and nights robs every living creature of its life. So rather mourn for yourself, (thinking) ' Death is inevitable ; what shall I do ? ' Why do you mourn for another ? Whether a man moves or remains motionless, his life gradually ebbs away . . . . As drifting timbers (ships) meet one another on the high seas and then separate after a while, so a man becomes united with his wife, children, relatives and wealth for some-time and then becomes sundered from them : thus all these things are bound to be dissociated from one another. Life and Death is the law of this universe ; none can transgress it . . . . Our father, who

was a pious man and performed many sacrifices with proper gifts, has gone to heaven. So we should not mourn for him. As he has gone to heaven, give up your grief, go to the metropolis and reside there . . . . . Our father, who was devoted to truth, asked you who are noted for your eloquence to reside in A y o d h y ā. I will do as my pious father has bidden me; I cannot transgress his just commands, O Conqueror of foes. You should also obey him who was not only our father, but our (true) friend. I will carry out his pious orders by means of my exile, O Descendant of R a g h u. A kind-hearted and dutiful man, who seeks the welfare of his soul in the next world, should obey his superiors; O the most valiant of men. O the best of men, being guided by your good character and meditating on the good deeds of our father, do what conduces to (the welfare of) your self." ]

We may juxtapose for the sake of comparison an extract from Cicero's speech against Verres (the rapacious Roman Governor of Sicily) and a passage from a speech of Śīśupāla, king of Chedi (Bundelkhand) who was irritated by Bhīṣma's (the Patriarch of the Kurus) and Yudhis<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ira's conferring the highest honours on Kṛishṇa, regarded as an incar-

nation of Vishṇu in the Mahābhārata (composed about 800 B.C.) on the occasion of the Rājasūya sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas.

Cicero—"What, the worthlessness and audacity of that man (Verres) should have a more easy access to your own friendship, O Hortensius (Verres's Counsel) and to that of other great and noble men than the virtue and integrity of one of us! . . . . You are fond of Verres: I suppose so. If you are not gratified with his virtue and his innocence and his industry and his modesty and his chastity, at least you are transported at his conversation, his accomplishments and his good breeding. He has no such gifts; but on the contrary all his qualities are stained with the most extreme disgrace and infamy, with the most extraordinary stupidity and boorishness. . . . What do you think, this can be endurable to any one—that we should live on slender incomes in such a way as not even to wish to acquire anything more, that we should be content with maintaining our dignity and the good-will of the Roman people, not by wealth but by virtue; but that that man having robbed every one on all sides and having escaped with impunity should live in prosperity and abundance<sup>1</sup>?"

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1. Cicero's orations against Verres, translated by Yonge.

शिशुपाल उवाच—

नायमर्हति बाष्ण्येयस्तिष्ठत्स्विहमहात्मसु ।

महीपतिषु, कोरव्य ! राजवत् पार्थिवार्हणम् ॥ 1

(Canto 37)

तादृशोधर्मयुक्तोहि कुर्वाणः प्रियकाम्यया ।

भवत्यभ्यधिकं, भीष्म ! लोकेष्ववमतः सताम् ॥ 4

अथवा मन्यसे कृष्णं स्थविरं कुरुपुङ्गव !

वसुदेवे स्थिते वृद्धे कथमर्हति तत्सुतः ॥ 6

अथवा वासुदेवोऽपि प्रियकामोऽनुवृत्तवान् ।

द्रुपदे तिष्ठति कथं माधवोऽर्हति पूजनम् ॥ 7

आचार्य्यमन्यसे कृष्णमथ वा कुरुनन्दन !

द्रोणे तिष्ठति बाष्ण्येयं कस्मादर्चितवानसि ॥ 8

ऋत्विजं मन्यसे कृष्णमथ वा कुरुनन्दन ।

द्वैपायने स्थिते वृद्धे कथं कृष्णोऽर्चितस्त्वया ॥ 9

नैव ऋत्विक् न चाचार्य्येन राजा मधुसूदनः ।

अर्चितश्च, कुरुश्रेष्ठ किमन्यत् प्रियकाम्यया ॥ 17

अथवाभ्यर्चनीयोऽयं युष्माकं मधुसूदनः ।

किं राजभिरिहानीतैरवमानाय भारत ॥ 18

वयन्तु न भयादस्य कौन्तेयस्य महात्मनः ।

प्रयच्छामः करान् सर्वे न लोभान्न च सान्त्वनात् ॥ 19

अस्य धर्मप्रवृत्तस्य पार्थिवत्वं चिकीर्षतः ।

करानस्मै प्रयच्छामः सोऽयमस्मान्नमन्यते ॥ 20

किमन्यदवमानाद्वि यदेनं राजसंसदि ।

अप्रातलक्षणं कृष्णमर्घ्येणार्चितवानसि ॥ 21

अकस्माद्धर्मपुत्रस्य धर्मात्मेति यरो गतम् ।

को हि धर्मच्युते पूजामेवं युक्तां नियोजयेत् ॥ 22

योऽयं वृष्णिकुले जातो राजानं हतवान् पुरा ।

जरासन्धं महात्मानमन्यायेन दुरात्मवान् ॥ 23

\* \* \* \*

नावि नौरिव संबद्धा यथान्धो बान्धमन्वियात् ।

तथाभूता हि कौरव्या येषां भीष्म ! त्वमग्रणीः ॥ 3

(Canto 41)

\* \* \* \*

न ते श्रुतमिदं भीष्म न्यूनं कथयतां सताम् ।

यद्वक्ष्ये त्वामधर्मज्ञं वाक्यं कुरुकुलाधम ॥ 12

स्त्रीषु गोषु न शस्त्राणि पातयेद् ब्राह्मणेषु च ।

यस्य चान्नानि भुञ्जीत यत्र च स्यात् प्रतिश्रयः ॥ 13

इति सन्तोऽनुशासन्ति सज्जनं धर्मिणः सदा ।

भीष्म लाके हि तत् सर्वं वितथं त्वयि द्रयते ॥ 14

ज्ञानवृद्धञ्च वृद्धञ्च भूयांसं केशवं मम ।

अजानता इवाख्यासि संस्तुवन् कौरवाधम ॥ 15

\* \* \* \*

असौ मतिमताम् श्रेष्ठो य एषः जगतः प्रभुः ।

सम्भावयति चाप्येवं त्वद्राक्याच्च जनार्दनः ॥ 17

*Mahābhārata, Savāparvan.*

S'isupala—"O Bhīshma! Kṛishṇa does not deserve the highest honours conferred by you in the presence of so many worthier princes . . . . O Bhīshma! when a virtuous man like you acts thus for flattering a person, he becomes the butt of the Society's ridicule. O Chief of the Kurus! if you have worshipped Kṛishṇa for his age and experience, then how does Vāsudeva's son (Kṛishṇa) deserve reverence, while the old Vāsudeva is alive? If you have honoured Kṛishṇa for his being your well-wisher and follower, then how can he claim your worship in the presence of Drupada? If you have paid your respects to him, O the Descendant of the Kurus, for his being a preceptor, then how can he be worshipped in Droṇa's presence? If you have worshipped him, O Kaṛava, for his being a priest, then why have you worshipped him though the old Sage Vyāsa is alive? Kṛishṇa is neither a priest, nor a preceptor

nor a king. Is not therefore your worship of Kṛishṇa sheer flattery, O Chief of the Kurus? If you were determined on worshipping Kṛishṇa, then why did you insult us by your invitation? We have been paying tribute to this great son (Yudhis<sup>h</sup>thira) of Kuntī not out of fear, nor out of greed, nor for propitiating him, but only because we want that the empire should go to the virtuous; but he has insulted us. Is your worshipping Kṛishṇa, who is devoid of royal attributes, with due ceremonials, in this assembly of Princes, anything but insulting us? The reputation of Yudhis<sup>h</sup>thira, who has been without any cogent reason named 'the son of Piety', has vanished for his honouring this impious and wicked descendant of Vṛishṇi, who has killed the high-minded king Jarasandha by foul means. . . . The Pāṇḍavas are following your lead, O Bhīshma, just as a boat does, when it is tied to another, or when a blind man is led by another. . . .

O Base Descendant of the Kurus, O Bhīshma, wicked as you are, (it appears that) you have not heard in the least from good men moral precepts which I shall communicate to you. (It is enjoined that) none should hurl weapons at women, kine and Brāhmanas



nor at a person who has provided one with food and shelter. The good and virtuous always inculcate such lessons on honest men, all of which (it appears) have become fruitless in you. You have praised Kṛishṇa with the epithets 'experienced, old and great' as if I were ignorant (of his real nature) . . . . . You have lauded Kṛishṇa by saying 'He is the wisest of the wise, the Lord of the Universe'; so he is under the erroneous impression that he really deserves your hyperbolical adulation."

When Duryyodhana, the son of Dhṛitarāshṭra (the king of Hastināpura—modern Māwāna near Meerut) and the prince of Sophists, was requested in the assembly-hall of the Kurus by Kṛishṇa and others to make over one-half of his kingdom to Yudhiṣṭhira (the eldest son of Pāṇḍu, Dhṛitarāshṭra's brother), which was his due, he said :—

प्रसमीदय भवानेतद्वक्तुमर्हति केशव ।

मामेव हि विशेषेण विभाष्य परिगर्हसे ॥ 2

(Canto 127)

भक्तिवादेन पार्थानामस्माकन्मधुसूदन ।

भवान् गर्हयतं नित्यं किं समीदय बलाबलम् ॥ 3

भवान् क्षत्ताच्च राजा बाण्याचाय्यो वा पितामहः ।  
 मामेव परिगर्हन्ते नान्यं कञ्चन पार्थिवम् ॥ 4  
 न चाहं लक्ष्ये कञ्चिद्विभिचारमिहात्मनः ।  
 अथ सर्वे भवन्तोमां विद्विषन्ति सराजकाः ॥ 5

\* \* \* \* \*  
 प्रियाभ्युपगते द्यूते पाण्डवा मधुसूदन ।  
 जितं शकुनिना राज्यं तत्र किं मम दुष्कृतम् ॥ 7  
 यत् पुनर्द्रविणं किञ्चित्तत्राजयन्त पाण्डवाः ।  
 तेभ्य एवाभ्यनुज्ञातं तत्तदा मधुसूदन ॥ 8  
 अपराधो न चास्माकं यत्ते ह्यक्षपराजिताः ।  
 अजेया, जयतां श्रेष्ठ, पार्थाः प्रव्रजिता वनम् ॥ 9  
 केन बाण्यपवादेन विरुध्यन्त्यरिभिः सह ।  
 अशक्ताः पाण्डवाः कृष्ण प्रहृष्टाः प्रत्यमित्रवत् ॥ 10

\* \* \* \* \*  
 न चापि वयमुप्रेण कर्मणा वचनेन वा ।  
 प्रभ्रष्टाः प्रणमामहे भयादपि शतक्रतुम् ॥ 12  
 न च तं, कृष्ण ! पश्यामि क्षत्रधर्ममनुष्ठितम् ।  
 उत्सहेत युधा जेतुम यो नः, शत्रुनिवर्हण ! ॥ 13  
 न हि भीष्मकपद्रोणाः सकर्णा, मधुसूदन ।  
 देवैरपि युधा जेतुम शक्याः किमुत पाण्डवैः ॥ 14

स्वधर्ममनुपश्यन्तो यदि माधव ! संयुगे ।

अत्रेण निधनं काले प्राप्स्यामः स्वर्गमेव तत् ॥ 15

मुख्यश्चैवैष नो धर्मः क्षत्रियाणां, जनाईन ।

यच्छयीमहि संग्रामे शरतल्पगता वयम् ॥ 16

\* \* \* \* \*

कश्च जातु कुले जातः क्षत्रधर्मेण वर्तयन् ।

भयाद् वृत्तिं समीक्ष्यैव प्रणमेदिह कस्यचित् ॥ 18

उदयच्छेदेव न नमेदुद्यमो ह्येव पौरुषम् ।

अप्यपर्वणि भज्येत न नमेदिह कस्यचित् ॥

इति मातंगवचनं परीप्सन्ति हितेप्सवः ॥ 19

\* \* \* \*

यावद्धि तीक्ष्णया सूच्या विध्येदग्रेण, केशव ।

तावदप्पपरित्याज्यं भूमेर्नः पाण्डवान् प्रति ॥ 25

*Mahābhāratam, Udyogaparvam.*

“O Kṛishṇa! You should have given your advice after due deliberation. Being influenced by the flattery of the Pāṇḍavas you have found fault specially with me without rhyme or reason. Do you always calumniate me after taking into consideration the strength and weakness of parties? Some of my relatives,—Vidura, the King (my Father), my Preceptor and Grandfather—do likewise; but they do not

blame other princes ; but I myself cannot find any fault of mine even after deep thinking ; nevertheless you and several other princes are inimically disposed towards me. The Pāṇḍavas have lost their share of the kingdom to Śakuni as a result of the dice-play of which they are inordinately fond. Am I to blame for this ? On the contrary I ordered the restitution of some wealth won from them on the occasion. The banishment of the invincible Pāṇḍavas was the result of their second reverse in the dice-game, O the Chief of Conquerors. This is not our fault. Being unable to cope with us single-handed, they have joined our enemy at least for no accusation which has been brought against us. . . . . Even the king of the gods will not be able to terrify us, who are unflinching, into submission by violent acts and speeches. O Destroyer of foes ! I do not find any one who can conquer us by honourable (*lit.*, according to Kshatriya custom) fighting: even gods cannot overpower our warriors like Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛipā and Karna, not to speak of the Pāṇḍavas. If we, who are Kshatriyas, die in the course of a virtuous fight, we shall attain heaven in due time. The greatest duty of us, Kshatriyas, is lying on a bed of arrows on the field of battle. . . . . None

born in a Kshatriya family and observing Kshatriya laws bows to any one in this world out of fear only for the sake of his life. Wise Kshatriyas seeking their true well-being always act in accordance with the precept of the sage Mātāṅga, viz., 'Be always adventurous. Never submit to anyone. A spirit of enterprise is true manliness. You may break at times, but should never bend.' . . . . (So long as I am alive) the Pāṇḍavas shall not get back their share of the kingdom—not even the earth that sticks to the end of the finest needle."

It is difficult to extract oratorical speeches from the Purāṇas which are records of actions and incidents (mainly imaginary but partly real, the nucleus of which was composed about 700 B.C.<sup>1</sup>) narrated by sages to their inquisitive disciples. In the Vāyupurāṇam in which the God of Winds is supposed to be the speaker at least in some chapters, there is the story of the deception of the Daityas (the foes of gods) by Brihaspati, the preceptor of gods. Brihaspati makes the Daityas believe that he is Śukra, their pre-

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1. See Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Page 51.

ceptor, and, thus induces them to reject the advances of Śukra, the real preceptor of the Daityas, who becomes indignant. Later on the Daityas discover their mistake and propitiate their preceptor. Śukra, the knower of right, being entreated relent-  
ed and said to them with kindness :—

एवं शुक्रोऽनुनीतः सततः कोपं न्ययच्छत ।  
उवाचेदं न भेतव्यं न गन्तव्यं रसातलम् ॥ 48  
अवश्यम्भावी ह्यर्थोऽयं प्राप्तो वो मयि जाग्रति ।  
न शक्यमन्यथाकर्तुमदृष्टं बलवत्तरम् ॥ 49  
संज्ञा प्रनष्टा या वोऽद्य कामं तां प्रतिलप्स्यथ ।  
प्रातः पर्यायिकालो व इति ब्रह्माम्यभाषत ॥ 50  
मत्प्रसादाच्च युष्माभिर्भुक्तं त्रैलोक्यमूर्जितम् ।  
युगाख्या दश सम्पूर्णा देवानाक्रम्य मूर्ध्नि ॥ 51

\* \* \* \*

सावर्णिके पुनस्तुभ्यं राज्यं किल भविष्यति ।  
लोकानामीश्वरो भावो पौत्रस्तव पुनर्बलिः ॥ 52  
एवं किलमहं प्रोक्तं पौत्रस्ते ब्रह्मणा स्वयम् ।

\* \* \* \*

तस्मान्निरुत्सुकस्त्वं वै पर्यायं सह नाकुलः । 56

[Do not fear. It is not necessary for you to proceed to the lower regions (rasātalam). Even if I be on the alert (and try my best) I cannot override fate. The curse (that ye shall lose your wisdom) which I have pronounced on you, cannot be rescinded. The Creator also has ordained that ye shall lose your understanding in course of time. With my aid ye have become victorious over the gods and reigned in heaven for ten cycles (yugas) . . . . . O Prahlāda (the leader of the Daityas), you will reign for ten cycles in the Sāvarnika age, when your grandson Bali will be the emperor. The Creator has said this to me . . . . Therefore ye should not despair and become broken-hearted. Endure patiently what time brings on." ]

The following is taken from *Matsyapurāṇam* (composed about 700 B.C.) Chapter 148, where Tāraka, the enemy of the Gods addresses his ministers thus :—

राज्येन कारणं किं मे त्वनाक्रम्य त्रिविष्टपं ।

अनिर्याप्य सुरैर्वैरं का शान्तिर्हृदये मम ॥ 32

\* \* \* \*

लब्ध्वा जन्म न यः कश्चिद्घटयेत् पौरुषं नरः ।

जन्म तस्य वृथाभूतमजन्मा तु विशिष्यते ॥ 35

मातापितृभ्यां न करोति कामान्,  
 बन्धूनशोकान् न करोति यो वा ।  
 कीर्त्तिं हि वा नार्जयते हिमाभां,  
 पुमान् स जातोऽपि मृतो मतं मे ॥ 36

तस्माज्जयायामरपुंगवानां  
 त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मिहरिणाय शशिम् ।  
 संयोज्यतां मे रथमष्टचक्रं,  
 बलञ्च मे दुर्जयं दैत्यचक्रम् ।  
 ध्वजञ्च मे काञ्चनपट्टनद्धं  
 छत्रञ्च मे मौक्तिकजालबद्धम् ॥ 37

इन्द्र उवाच

सावधानेन मे वाचं शृणुध्वं नाकवासिनः ।  
 नवन्तो यज्ञभोक्तारस्तुष्टात्मानोऽतिसात्त्विकाः ॥ 74  
 स्वे महिम्नि स्थिता नित्यं जगतः परिपालकाः ।  
 भवन्तश्चानिमित्तेन बाधन्ते दानवेश्वराः ॥ 75  
 तेषां सामादि नैवास्ति, दण्ड एव विधीयताम् ।  
 कियतां समरोद्योगः सैन्यं संयुज्यताम् मम ॥ 76  
 आर्धायिन्ताञ्च शस्त्राणि पूज्यन्तामस्त्रदेवताः ।  
 बाहनानि च यानानि योजयन्तु सहामराः ॥ 77  
 यमं सेनापतिं कृत्वा शीघ्रमेवं दिवौकसः ॥ 78

"O Counsellors, if I do not invade the abode of



the Gods, my kingship becomes meaningless. If I cannot persecute my enemy, I cannot enjoy peace. ( Our foes are enjoying the manifold pleasures of heaven ; we are bereft of them ). A man is born in vain, if he cannot evince manliness. He, who does not satisfy his parents, remove the grief of his friends and earn spotless glory, is more dead than alive. Therefore make ready my eight-wheeled war-chariot adorned with golden streamers and with my umbrella begemmed with pearls. Let the formidable D a i t y a soldiers follow me." Then Indra, the king of the Gods, addressed them (Gods) thus— " O Denizens of Heaven, attend carefully to my words. Ye taste the sacrifices offered by men, are easily satisfied and are endowed with purity and self-control. Ye have been administering the affairs of the world with your might and glory. The chiefs of the D a i t y a s are persecuting you without rhyme or reason. A policy of conciliation is bound to fail. The only means of bringing them to their senses is punishment. Therefore prepare yourselves for war, muster my forces, wield your weapons, propitiate the gods of weapons, make your chariots ready, and encounter the enemy with Y a m a ( the King of Death ) as your general, O Gods."

The following is taken from "Vishṇupurāṇa, the nucleus of which was composed as early as 700 B.C.<sup>1</sup> When the Daitya (the enemy of gods) Hiraṇyakaśipu failed by means of threats and punishments to dissuade his son Prahlāda from worshipping Viṣṇu and entrusted his teaching to a body of priests, Prahlāda addressed his class-fellows thus—

श्रूयतां परमार्थो मे दैतेया दितिजात्मजाः ।  
 न चान्यथैतन्मन्तव्यं नात्र लोभादिकारणम् ॥ 55  
 जन्म बाल्यं ततः सर्वो जन्तुः प्राप्नोति यौवनम् ।  
 अव्याहृतं भवति ततोऽनुदिवसं जरा ॥  
 ततश्च मृत्युमभ्येति जन्तुर्दैत्येश्वरात्मजाः  
 प्रत्यक्षं दृश्यते चैतदस्माकं भवतां तथा ॥  
 मृतस्य च पुनर्जन्म भवत्येतच्च नान्यथा ।

\* \* \* \* \*  
 जन्मन्यत्र महद्दुःखं म्रियमाणस्य चापि तत् ।  
 यातनासु यमस्योग्रं गर्भसंक्रमणेषु च ॥

\* \* \* \* \*  
 तदेवमतिदुःखानामास्पदेऽत्र भवार्णवे ।  
 भवतां कथ्यते सत्यं विष्णुरेकः परायणम् ॥

1. See Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.p. 51 and 55.

मा जानीत वयं बाला देही देहेषु शाश्वतः ।  
 जरायौवनजन्माद्या धर्म्मा देहस्य नात्मनः ।  
 बालोऽहं तावदिच्छातो यतिष्ये श्रेयसे युवा ।  
 युवाहं वार्द्धके प्राप्ते करिष्यामात्मनोहितम् ॥  
 वृद्धोऽहं मम कर्म्माणि समस्तानि न गोचरे ।  
 किं करिष्यामि मन्दात्मा समर्थेन न यत् कृतम् ॥  
 एवं दुराशयाक्षितमानसः पुरुषः सदा ।  
 श्रेयसोऽभिमुखं याति न कदाचित् पिपासितः ॥  
 बाल्ये क्रीडनकासक्ता यौवने विषयोन्मुखाः ।  
 अज्ञा नयन्त्यशक्त्या च वार्द्धकं समुपस्थितम् ॥  
 तस्माद्बाल्ये विवेकात्मा यतेत श्रेयसे सदा ।  
 बाल्ययौवनवृद्धायैर्देही भावैरसंयुतः ॥  
 तदेतत् बोध्याख्यातं यदि जानीत नानृतम् !  
 तदस्मत्प्रीतये विष्णुः स्मर्यतां बन्धमुक्तिदः ॥  
 आयासः स्मरणे कोऽस्य स्मृतो यच्छति शोभनम् ।  
 पापक्षयश्च भवति स्मरतां तमहर्निशम् ॥  
 सर्वभूतस्थिते तस्मिन् मतिमैत्री दिवानिशम् ।  
 भवतां जायतामेवं सर्वक्लेशान् प्रहास्यथ ॥

तापत्रयेनाभिहतं यदेतदखिलं जगत् ।  
 तदा शोच्येषु भूतेषु द्वेषं प्राज्ञः करोति कः ॥  
 अथ भद्राणि भूतानि हीनशक्तिरहं परम् ।  
 मुदं तथापि कुर्वीत हानिर्द्वेषफलं यतः ॥  
 बद्धवैराणि भूतानि द्वेषं कुर्वन्ति चेत् ततः ।  
 शोच्यान्यहोऽतिमोहेन व्याप्तानीति मनीषिणा ॥

\* \* \* \*

विस्तारः सर्वभूतस्य विष्णोर्विश्वमिदं जगत्  
 द्रष्टव्यमात्मवत् तस्मादभेदेन विचक्षणैः ।

\* \* \* \*

असारसंसारविवर्त्तनेषु  
 मा यात तोषं प्रसभं ब्रवीमि ।  
 सर्वत्र दैत्याः समतामुपेत-  
 समत्वमाराधनमच्युतस्य ॥  
 तस्मिन् प्रसन्ने किमिहास्त्यलभ्यं ।  
 धर्मार्थकामैरलमल्पकास्ते ॥  
 समाश्रिताद्ब्रह्मतरोरनन्तात् ।  
 निःसंशयं प्राप्स्यथ वै महत् फलम् ॥ 91

"O the Offspring of the Daityas ( who are the sons of Diti ), hear the supreme truth. Do not think that my speech is actuated by self-interest (lit. greed). All creatures obtain birth, childhood, and youth; then senile decay inevitably overtakes them. Then all of us see that they die . . . . When we are born we suffer pain; when we die we have to endure intense pain; so long as we are in the womb we also suffer. . . . . In this world which is an ocean of misery, the great God Vishnu is our sole Refuge, I assure you. We being boys do not know that the soul is eternal and that old age, youth, birth and other similar attributes pertain to the body and not to the soul. We in our boyhood think that we should strive to attain our true well-being in our youth. When we become young men, we are of opinion that we should seek the welfare of the soul in our old age. When we grow old, we are under the idea that as we did not try to attain our souls' wellbeing while we were able, it is not possible for us—unfortunate men—to do anything now, when our organs have become weak. Thus men thirsting for worldly enjoyment and being always impelled by wicked desires never proceed towards the goal of good. Being occupied with toys in childhood and

with worldly ends in youth, ignorant men spend their old age, with enfeebled powers of the body and mind. Therefore a conscientious man thinking that the soul ( being eternal ) has no intrinsic connexion with childhood, youth and old age, should aim at the highest good from his boyhood. If you think that what I have told you is not false, you should for my satisfaction remember V i s h n u, the giver of salvation. It is easy to remember Him and the remembrance of Him (always) confers good. Those, who think of Him day and night, get rid of their sin.

May you devote your thought always to Him and your love to all creatures who live, move and have their being in Him and thus may you be free from all misery ! When all the creatures of the world are stricken with three kinds of evil (bodily, mental and accidental), no wise man can entertain any spite against these wretched beings. If others prosper and we suffer misery, even then we should be satisfied with our lot, as envy is productive of evil. If men being confirmed in their enmity do evil to others, the latter, if they are wise, should pity them thinking that they have been overwhelmed by passion and ignorance. . . . . As the whole of this infinite universe is pervaded by V i s h n u, wise men

look upon others like themselves without distinction . . . . . Do not remain contented with this unsubstantial world full of vicissitudes. I ask you boldly to accord equal treatment to all creatures, for the true worship of Viṣṇu consists in treating others like yourselves. What is not to be gained if Viṣṇu is pleased—not to speak of piety, wealth and desire—these being trifling things? If you place yourselves under the shadow of the Tree of the Supreme Soul, you will certainly obtain the noblest fruit thereof.

Hiranyakaśipu, Prahlāda's father, thought of punishing his son through his priests, who told Prahlāda that as he was the son of a great king and was born in a distinguished family, he should rely solely on his father who was the refuge of all, and should have nothing to do with the Ananta (the Infinite) whom his father Hiranyakaśipu regarded as an enemy. Prahlāda said thus to the assembly of priests:—

एवमेतन्महाभागाः श्लाघ्यमेतन्महाकुलम् ।

मरीचेः सकलेऽप्यस्मिन् त्रैलोक्ये कोऽन्यथा वदेत् ।

पिता च मम सर्वस्मिन् जगत्युत्कृष्टचेष्टितः ।

एतदप्यवगच्छामि सत्यमत्रापि नानृतम् ॥

गुरुणामपि सर्वेषां पिता परमको गुरुः ।  
 यदुक्तं भ्रान्तिरत्रापि स्वल्पापि हि न विद्यते ॥  
 पिता गुरुर्न सन्देहः पूजनीयः प्रयत्नतः ।  
 तत्रापि नापराध्यामीत्येवं मनसि मे स्थितम् ।  
 यदेतत् किमनन्तेनेत्युक्तं युष्माभिरीदृशम् ।  
 को ब्रवीति यथायुक्तं किन्तु नैतद वचोऽर्थवत् ।  
 इत्युक्त्वा सोऽभवन् मौनी तेषां गौरवयन्त्रितः  
 प्रहस्य च पुनः प्राह किमनन्तेन साध्विति ॥  
 साधु भोः किमनन्तेन साधु भो गुरवो मम  
 श्रूयतां यदनन्तेन यदि खेदं न यास्यथ ॥  
 धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाख्याः पुरुषार्था उदाहृताः  
 चतुष्टयमिदं यस्मात् तस्मात् किं किमिदं वृथा ।  
 मरीचिमिश्रैर्दक्षेण तथैवान्यैरनन्ततः ।  
 धर्मः प्राप्तिस्तथैवान्यैरर्थः कामस्तथा परैः ॥  
 तत् तत्त्ववेदिनो भूत्वा ज्ञानध्यानसमाधिभिः ।  
 अवापुर्मुक्तिमपरे पुरुषा ध्वस्तबन्धनाः ॥  
 सम्पदैश्चर्य्यमाहात्म्य-ज्ञानसन्ततिकर्मणाम् ।  
 विमुक्तेश्चैकतालम्ब्य मूलमाराधनं हरेः ।



यतो धर्मार्थकामाख्यं मुक्तिश्चापि फलं द्विजाः ।

तेनापि हि किमित्येवमनन्तेन किमुच्यते ॥

किञ्चात्र बहुनोक्तं भवन्तो गुरवो मम ।

वदन्तु साधु वासाधु विवेकोऽस्माकमल्पकः ॥

Vishṇupurāṇam, Part I, Chap. 18, 14 to 26.

"O highly fortunate Beings, ( I know that ) this great dynasty is worthy of praise. None can gain-say that it is the best of Marīchi's dynasties in this world. I also know that it is true that my father's achievements are the most famous in this world. There is not the least error in the statement that my father is the best of all my superiors. There is not the least doubt that my father is to be revered and to be sedulously worshipped. Still I think I have not offended ( him ). You ( in your warning to me ) have said that there is no need ( for me ) to resort to A n a n t a or the Infinite. Who says that this has been properly spoken ? It does not appear that this statement is full of sense." Having said this, out of respect for them, Prahlaḍa remained silent ( for some time ). Then smiling he added "Thanks for your question 'What is the necessity for the Infinite ?' O my Preceptors, you have done well

in raising this question. If you have no objection, I will tell you what may result from dependence on the Infinite. Is the Infinite negligible when the four human ends—piety, wealth, other things desired, and salvation—depend solely on the Infinite? Revered Marīchi and Dakṣha have obtained piety from Him, some have gained wealth, others their other desires, and others again becoming free from worldly ties by their true wisdom, religious contemplation and trance and thus becoming cognisant of the highest truths, have attained salvation (through His grace). The root of prosperity, fame, greatness, wisdom, children and activity is such worship of Hari as may lead ultimately to the union of the individual soul with the Divine Soul. O Brāhmaṇs, when such (valuable) blessings proceed from the Infinite, will you still assert that nothing will result from His worship? It is needless to tell you more, as you are my Preceptors. Whether you are telling the right thing or not, I cannot say, as my wisdom is little.”

The following sermon of the Buddha to his disciples on the Ancient Path is taken from Mrs. Rhys David's translation of *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (composed about 400 B.C.) in Mr. E. H.

Brewsters' Life of the Buddha :—"Just as if Brethren, a man faring through the forest, through the great wood, should see an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by men of former days. And he were to go along it, and going along it he should see an ancient city, an ancient prince's domain, wherein dwelt men of former days, having gardens, groves, pools, foundations of walls, a goodly spot. And that man, Brethren, should bring word to the Prince or to the Prince's minister, 'Pardon, Lord, know this. I have seen as I fared through the forest, through the great wood, an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by men of former days, having gardens, groves, pools, foundations of walls, a goodly spot. Lord, restore that City.'

And Brethren, the prince or his minister should restore that city. That city should thereafter become prosperous and flourishing, populous, teeming with folk, grown and thriven. Even so have I, Brethren, seen an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times.

And what, Brethren, is that ancient path, that ancient road traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times? Just this Aryan, eightfold path, to wit, right views, right aims, right speech,

right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. This, Brethren, is that ancient path, that ancient road, traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times. Along that I have gone and going along it I have fully come to know decay-and-death. . . . . I have fully come to know the way going to the ceasing of decay-and-death . . . . . This that I have come to know I have declared to the brethren, to the sisters, to laymen to laywomen, even this divine life, Brethren, that is prosperous and flourishing and widespread and to be known by many . . . ."

(From Mr. G. H. Brewster's *Life of Gotama, the Buddha*).

"Then the Exalted One (Buddha) addressed his Pāṭaligāma disciples and said, 'Five-fold, O House-holders, is the loss of the wrongdoer through his moral failure. In the first place the wrongdoer failing in morals falls into great poverty through carelessness; in the next place his evil report gets noised abroad; thirdly whatever society he enters, whether of nobles, Brāhmaṇs, heads of houses, men of a religious order, he enters with diffidence and (becomes) confused; fourthly he is confused in mind when he dies; and lastly on the dissolution of the

body after death he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe. This, O Householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer.

Fivefold, O Householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his moral development. In the first place the well-doer morally developed acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly whatever society he enters whether of nobles, Brāhmanas, heads of houses or members of a religious order, he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly he dies not confused in mind, and lastly on the dissolution of the body after death he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O Householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer."

Though the rock and stonepillar edicts of Aśoka, the greatest of the Buddhist Emperors (255 to 232 B. C.) cannot be strictly regarded as public speeches, they are allied to them as they are addressed to a large number of men. Even some of Cicero's speeches (*e. g.* against Verres) were never delivered.

( From Mr. V. Smith's, *Life of Aśoka*—Edict XI on True Charity ).

"There is no such Charity as the charitable gift of Law of Piety, no such friendship as friendship in piety, no such distribution as the distribution of piety, no such kinship as kinship in piety.

The Law of Piety consists in these things, to wit, kind treatment of slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity to ascetics (Buddhist), and respect for the sanctity of life.

Therefore a father, son, brother, master, friend or comrade, nay even a neighbour, ought to say: This is meritorious, this ought to be done. He who acts thus both gains this world and begets infinite merit in the next world by means of this very charity of the Law of Piety."

From Mr. V. Smith's *Life of Aśoka—Kalinga Rock-Edict No. II*, on the duties of officials to the Border Tribes.

" . . . I desire my views to be practically acted upon and carried into effect by suitable means; and in my opinion the principal means for accomplishing this object are my instructions to you.

All men are children and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity both in this world and the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity.

If you ask what is the King's will concerning the border-tribes, I reply that my will is this concerning the Borderers—that they should be convinced that the King desires them to be free from disquietude. I desire them to trust me and to be assured that they will receive from me happiness, not sorrow, and to be convinced that the King bears them good will, and I desire that . . . they should practise the Law of Piety and so gain both this world and the next.

\* \* \* \* \*

Understanding this, do your duty and inspire these folk with trust, so that they may be convinced that the King is unto them even as a father and that as he cares for himself, so he cares for them, who are the King's children.

Having given you my instructions and notified to you my orders—my resolutions and promises being immutable—I expect to be well served by you in this business, because you are in a position enabling you to inspire these folk with trust and to secure their happiness and prosperity both in this world and the next; and by so acting you will gain heaven and discharge your debt to me. . . .”

Though public speeches in the strict sense of the term cannot be found in Sanskrit Dramas, still we shall append below passages which approximate them.

The Dūtavākyaṃ and Dūtaghaṭotkaccham of Bhāsa (flourished about 300 A. D.) furnish a few instances. In the Dūtavākyaṃ we find Kṛishṇa proceeding to the court of Dhṛitarasṭra and Duryyodhana to persuade the latter to restore to the Pāṇḍavas the share of the kingdom which is their due. But Duryyodhana is inexorable. Vasudeva (Kṛishṇa) addresses Duryyodhana in the assembly-hall of the Kurus and states that Yudhisṭhira has greeted Duryyodhana and said to him—

अनुभूतं महद्दुःखं संपूर्णः समयः स च ।

अस्माकमपि धर्म्यं यददायाचं तद् विभज्यताम् ॥

\* \* \* \*

एवं परस्परविरोधविवर्धनेन

शीघ्रं भवेत् कुरुकुलं नृप ! नामरोषम् ।

तत् कर्तुमर्हति भवानपकृष्य रोषं

यत् त्वां युधिष्ठिर मुखाः प्रणयाद्ब्रुवन्ति ॥



(We have suffered great misery and the promised time of exile has ended. Please give us the portion of the kingdom to which we are morally and legally entitled. . . . . If there be no amicable settlement, the estrangement between Yudhishtira and Duryodhana will become more and more acute and shall eventuate, O King, in the destruction of the Kurus. It is, therefore, desirable that you should give up your anger and comply with the affectionate request of Yudhishtira and his brothers. )

Duryodhana said in reply :—

भो दूत ! न जानाति भवान् राज्यव्यवहारम्,  
राज्यं नाम नृपात्मजैः सहृदयैर्जित्वा रिपून् भुज्यते,  
तल्लोके न तु याच्यते न तु पुनर्दीनाय वा दीयते ।  
काङ्क्षा चेन्नुपतित्वमाप्तुमचिरात् कुर्वन्तु ते साहसं  
स्वेरं वा प्रविशन्तु शान्तमतिभिर्जुष्टं शमायाश्रमम् ॥

\* \* \* \*

स्यालं तव गुरोर्भूषं कंसं प्रति न ते दया ।  
कथमस्माकमेवं स्यात् तेषु नित्यापकारिषु ॥

\* \* \* \*

अवध्यां प्रमदां हत्वा हयं गोवृषमेव च ।

मङ्गानपि सुनिर्लज्जो बभूवुर्मिच्छसि साधुभिः ॥

( O Ambassador ! you do not know the laws which govern kingdoms. Princes after defeating their enemy with their own exertion and valour enjoy their kingdoms and do not beg them from others nor confer them on the suppliant. If you desire to obtain royalty, presently show your prowess, or if you are not so inclined, enter a hermitage, where the peaceful and pious reside for quietude.

\* \* \* \*

You could not show your kindness to Kāṁsa, the brother-in-law of your revered father. Then why do you ask us to be generous to those who have always injured us ?

\* \* \* \*

Is it not ridiculous that you, who have shamefully killed a woman, a horse, a bull and two wrestlers, should bandy words with honest men ? )

Ghaṭotkacha, the son of Bhīma by Hidimba, a Rakshasī, sent by Kṛishṇa to the Court of Dhṛitarāshṭra, to convey to Duryyodhana the atrocity of his bringing about the death of Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son and Kṛishṇa's nephew, in an unrighteous fight, is flouted by his brother Duḥśāśana thus :—

क्षिपासि वदसि रूढं लङ्घयित्वा प्रमाणम्,  
 न च गणयासि किञ्चिद्व्याहरन् दीर्घहस्तः ।  
 यदि खलु तव दर्पो मातृपक्षोऽप्ररूपो  
 वयमपि खलु रौद्रा राक्षसोऽप्रस्वभावाः ॥

[If thou long-handed, slightest us, usest rude words, and goest beyond the bounds of propriety and art most heedless in your speech (*lit.*, dost not take into account anything while speaking) and if thou pridest thyself on the fierceness thou hast inherited from thy mother, (thou shouldst remember that) we are also capable of being as angry and as ferocious as thou.]

Ghaṭotkacha—शान्तं शान्तं पापं । राक्षसेभ्योऽपि भवन्त एव क्रूरतभाः । कुतः—God forbid ! Ye are much more cruel than demons ! as—

न तु जतुगृहे सुप्तान् भ्रातृन् दहन्ति निशाचराः,  
 शिरसि न तथा भ्रातुः पत्नीं स्पृशन्ति निशाचराः ।  
 न च सुतवधं सङ्ख्ये वृत्तं स्मरन्ति निशाचराः ।  
 विकृतवपुषोऽप्युग्राचारा घृणा न तु वर्जिता ॥

[Night-walkers (demons) do not burn their sleeping brethren after confining them in a lac-house ; they do not touch the hair of their brother's wife ; they

cannot remember any instance (*lit*, conduct) of their having killed their son in a fight. Though they are hideous to look at and though their conduct is rude, yet they are not devoid of (all) pity.]

In the Fifth Act of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Sākuntalā* (composed about 455 A. D.) where King Dushmanta in his open court repudiates, on account of forgetfulness brought on by Durvāsa's curse, his lawfully-married wife Sākuntalā, who begins to cry after covering her face with her veil, S'arṅgarava (her father's disciple who has accompanied her to the palace) says to the assembly—

इत्थमप्रतिहतं चापल्यं दहति—

अतः परीक्ष्य कर्तव्यं विशेषात् सङ्गतं रहः ।

अज्ञातद्वयेष्वेवं वैरीभवति सौहृदम् ॥

राजा—अयि भोः किमत्रभवतीप्रत्ययादेवास्मानसम्भृतदोषैरधि-

क्षिपन्ति भवतः ।

शार्ङ्गरेव ( सासूयम् ) श्रुतं भवद्भिरधरोत्तरम् ।

आजन्मनः शाठ्यमशिक्षितो यस्तस्याप्रमाणं वचनं जनस्य ।

पराभिसन्धानमधीयते यैर्विद्येति ते सन्तु किलाप्तवाचः ॥

[Unrestrained lightness (which led to the thoughtless marriage between Dushmanta and Sākun-

talā), has now been burning out the marriage-bond. Therefore when marriage is contracted in secret, it should be done after due deliberation. When two hearts become attached without thoroughly knowing each other, such hasty love changes into enmity.

The King—O Sages, why are you reprimanding me who are innocent by accepting S'akuntala's words as true?

S'arṅgarava (indignantly to the Assembly)—Gentlemen, you have heard this base insinuation: those who have not learnt deceit even from their childhood are to be disbelieved, and those, who have made the deception of others their study, are to be regarded as most trustworthy ☐.

In canto XV by Bharavi's epic Kirātārjunīyam (composed about 600 A. D.) wherein is described the fight between the S'aiva soldiers under Skanda or Kartikeya and Arjuna, in which the former are worsted and compelled to retreat, Skanda, 'whose glory has not hitherto suffered any diminution', being a little aggrieved for the retreat of his soldiers, says to them :—

मा विहासिष्ट समरं समरन्तव्यसंयतः ।  
 क्षतं क्षुम्भासुरगणैरगणैरिव किं यशः ॥  
 विवस्वदंशुसंश्लेषद्विगुणीकृततेजसः ।  
 अमी वो मोघमुद्गूर्णा हसन्तीव महासयः ॥  
 बनेऽवने वनसदां मार्गं मार्गमुपेयुषाम् ।  
 बाणैर्बाणैः समासक्तं शङ्ककेऽशं केन शम्यति ॥  
 पातितोत्तुङ्गमाहात्म्यैः संहतायतकीर्त्तिभिः ।  
 गुर्वी कामाप्रदं हन्तुं कृतमावृत्तिसाहसम् ॥  
 ना सु रोऽयं न वा नागो धरसंस्थो न राक्षसः  
 ना सुखोऽयं नवाभोगो धरणिस्थो हि राजसः ॥  
 मन्दमस्यन्निष्ठलतां घृणया मुनिरेष वः ।  
 प्रणुदत्यागतावन्नं जघनेषु पशूनिव ॥

वरं कृतध्वस्तगुणादत्यन्तमगुणः पुमान् ।  
 प्रकृत्या ह्यमणिः श्रेयान् नालङ्कारच्युतोपलः ॥  
 स्यन्दना नो चतुरगा सुरेभा वाविपत्तयः ।  
 स्यन्दना नो च तुरगाः सुरेभावा विपत्तयः ॥  
 भवद्विरधुनारातिपरिहापितपौरुषैः ।  
 हृदैरिवार्कनिष्पीतैः प्राप्तः पङ्क्तोदुत्तरः ।

\* \* \* \*  
अयं वः क्षौभ्यमापन्नान् दृष्टपृष्ठानरातिना ।

इच्छतीशश्च्युताचारान् दारानिव निगोपितुम् ॥

\* \* \* \*  
किं त्यक्तापास्तदेवत्वमानुष्यकपरिग्रहैः ।

अलिखितान्यगुणैर्गुर्वी स्थिता तेजसि मानिता ।

निशितासिरतोऽभीको न्येजतेऽमरणा रुचा ।

मारतो न विरोधी नः स्वाभासोऽभरवानुत ॥

तनुवारभसोभास्वानधीरोविनतौरसा ।

चारुणा रमते जन्ये कोऽभीतो रसिताशिनि ॥

विभिन्नपातिताश्वीयनिरुद्धरथवर्त्मनि ।

हतद्विपनगञ्जुतरुधिराम्बु नदाकुले ॥

\* \* \* \*  
प्रनृत्तशववित्तस्तुरगाक्षिससारथौ ।

मारुतापूर्णतूष्णीरविकृष्टहतसादिनि ॥

ससत्वरतिदेनित्यं सदसमर्षनाशिनि ।

त्वराधिककसन् नादे रसकत्वमकर्षति ॥

आसुरे लोकवित्रासविधायिनि महाहवे ।

युष्माधिरुन्नतिं नीतं निरस्तमिह पौरुषम् ॥

[ O soldiers, ye, to whom play and war are of equal value, should not give up fighting. Why have ye, who have worsted the *Asuras* in the fight, destroyed your glory like *Aganāḥ* (those who are not worthy of being the followers of *S'iva*)?

These, your swords, raised aloft in vain, the brilliance of which has been doubled by the rays of the sun, seem to be laughing (at you).

I fear nothing will allay the pain inflicted by the whizzing arrows of the (pursuing) enemy, while ye betake yourselves to the deer-track in the forest (in your flight).

I am at a loss to determine the serious peril for averting which ye have resorted to your rash retreat, lowered your eminence and contracted your spacious fame.

Your foe is no demon, no serpent, no gigantic monster, but (simply) a human denizen of the earth, infused with new enthusiasm and spirit and capable of being easily overcome by you.

(It is a matter of great regret that) this ascetic has been out of pity and contempt gently throwing his creeper-like missiles and smiting your hips and thighs, as if ye were hunted animals. . . .



..... As it is better to have a naturally gemless ornament than to have one from which precious minerals have been taken away, so it is better to be naturally devoid of valour than to have it and (then) to be dispossessed of it (by the foe).

Your enemy has no fast chariots, no speedy war-horses, no heavenly elephants with pleasant cries, and no reliable foot-soldiers, (and hence there is nothing to frighten you).

As there is nothing but unfordable slush in a lake, the transparent water of which has been dried up (*lit.*, drunk) by the sun, so there is nothing but arrant infamy in you who have been robbed of your valour by your enemy.

As a husband desires to hide the shame of his faithless wife, so, your master (S'iva) wants to conceal you who have lost your prowess and whose backs have been seen by the foe.

\* \* \* \* \*

Why have ye, having given up your godliness and having assumed human attributes and having displayed qualities antagonistic to your nature, abandoned your eminent courage and glory?

O Immortals! our opponent who brandishes his sharp sword, is fearless, shines with his great glory

and is self-reliant, does not quake with fear for your prowess.

Who is he (our enemy) who bright in his resplendent armour, with his fine breast erect, has been impatiently roaming without any fear in the field of battle which kills men even with its hideous din ?

Ye have flung away in this fight the continually increasing prowess acquired by you in your frightful great war with the Asuras, in which the routes of chariots were blocked by dead war-horses, in which the battle-field was flooded with the blood of big elephants killed in the fray..... in which charioteers were hurled by steeds terrified by dancing corpses, in which horse-soldiers were dragged and killed by arrow-cases filled with the wind, in which the valiant were inspirited and the timid were robbed of their anger, and the speedily increasing din of which fascinated (those engaged in the fight.) ]

The following passage is taken from Bhaṭṭi Kāvyaṃ composed about 610 A.D. by Bhaṭṭi under the patronage of king Śrīdharaśena of Valabhī (Vata) in Kathiawar to illustrate the rules of Grammar and Rhetoric. The author here

describes Rama, Lakshmana and Sita's leaving Ayodhya for the forest and their being followed by the sorrowful citizens :—

गतोवनं श्वो भवितेति रामः ।  
 शोकेन देहे जनतातिमात्रम् ॥  
 धीरास्तु तत्र च्युतमन्यवोऽन्ये ।  
 दधुः कुमारानुगमे मनांसि ॥  
 प्रस्थास्यमानाबुपसेदुपस्तौ  
 शोशुच्यमानानिदमूचतुस्तान् .  
 'किं शोचतेहाम्युदये वतास्मान्  
 न्नियोगलाभेन पितुः कृतार्थान् ॥  
 असृष्ट यो, यश्च भयेष्वरक्षीद्,  
 यः सर्व्वदास्मानपुषत् स्वपोषम् ।  
 महोपकारस्य किमस्ति तस्य  
 तुच्छेन यानेन वनस्य मोक्षः ॥  
 विदुः प्रणशं स वरं प्रणष्टौ,  
 यद्वोर्ध्व-शोषं तृणवद् विशुष्कः ॥  
 अर्थे दुरापे किमुत प्रवासे  
 न शरणेऽवास्थिय यो गुरूणाम् ॥

पौरा ! निवर्त्तध्वमिति न्यगादीत्,

तातस्य शोकापनुदा भवेत् ॥

मा दर्शतान्यं भरतं च मत्तो,

निवर्त्तयेत्याह रथं स्म सूतम् ॥

ज्ञात्वेङ्गितैर्गत्वरतां जनाना-

मेकां शयित्वा रजनीं सपौरः ॥

रक्षन् वने-वास-कृताद् भयात् तान्

प्रातश्कुलेनापजगाम रामः ॥

( Canto III, 11 to 16. )

The citizens of Ayodhya realising that Rama would proceed to the forest the next day burnt sorely with grief. Those who were patient giving up their lamentation, made up their minds to follow Rama.

Rama and Lakshmana who were on the point of leaving for the forest said to the citizens who had approached them and had been grieving sorely for their departure—"We wonder why you are sorrowing for us in the time of our prosperity due to the good fortune of our being entrusted with our father's commands.

He is our progenitor, he has protected us from fears, he has brought us up like himself. Is this trivial going to the forest a fit recompense for the great good he has done to us ?

He who shirks really difficult duties ( not to speak of exile ) imposed on him by his parents should rather be short-lived like a lightning-flash or like a blade of grass whose upper extremity has become dry." Rāma added, "O Citizens, return ( to the metropolis ), try to relieve our father's sorrow. Do not look upon B.h a r a t a as different from me". So saying he said to his charioteer "Stop my chariot".

Rāma knowing by signs that the citizens were bent upon following him, spent one night with them and protected them from fears incident to a wilderness and on the next morning left them on the pretext ( of performing his morning ablution.)

The following passage taken from the same poem relates to Sīta's fire-purification for her prolonged residence at Ravana's palace. Sīta says to her royal husband ( Rāma ) in the assembly of Rakshasas, monkeys and gods.—

ततः प्रगदिता वाक्यं मैथिलाभिजना नृपम्—

“स्त्रीसामान्येन सम्भूता शङ्का मयि विमुच्यताम् ॥

दैवाद् बिभीहि काकुत्स्थ !

जिह्मीहि त्वं तथा जनात् ॥

मिथ्या मामभिसंक्रुध्य-

न्नवशां शत्रुणा हताम् ॥

चेतसस् त्वयि वृत्तिर्मे, शरीरं रक्षसा हतम् ।

विदांकुर्वन्तु सम्यञ्चो देवाः सत्यमिदं वचः ॥

त्वं पुनीहि पुनीहीति पुनन् वायो ! जगत्त्रयम् ।

चरन् देहेषु भूतानां विद्धि मे बुद्धि-विस्मयम् ॥

खमट, यामटाटोर्वीमित्यटन्त्योऽति-पावनाः ।

यूयमापो ! विजानीत मनोवृत्तिं शुभां मम ॥

जगन्ति धत्स्व धत्स्वेति दधती त्वं वसुन्धरे ।

अवेहि मम चारित्रं नक्तं-दिवमविच्युतम् ।

रसान् संहर, दीप्यस्व, ध्वान्तं जहि, नभोभ्रमः ।

इतीहमानस् तिग्मांशो ! वृत्तं ज्ञातुं घटस्व मे ॥

स्वर्गे विद्यस्व, भुव्यास्व, भुजङ्ग-निलये भव ।

एवं वसन् ममाकाश ! संबुध्यस्व कृताकृतम् ॥

चितां कुरु च सौमित्रे । व्यसनस्यास्य भेषजम् ।

रामस्तुष्यतु मे वाद्य, पापां प्लुष्यातु वानलः ॥

राघवस्य मतेनाथ लक्ष्मणेनाचितां चिताम् ।  
 दृष्ट्वा प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य रामं प्रगदिता वचः ॥  
 प्रवपाणि वपुर्वह्नौ रामाहं शङ्किता त्वया ।  
 सर्वे विदन्तु शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः स-सुवङ्गमाः ॥  
 मां दुष्टां ज्वलित-वपुः प्लुषाण वहे !  
 संरक्ष क्षतमलिनां मुह्यद् यथा वा ॥  
 एषाहं क्रतुषु वसोर्यथाज्यधारा॥  
 त्वां प्राप्ता विधिवदुदीर्यदीप्तिमालम् ॥

( Canto XX, 26-37. )

"Give up the fear which has arisen in your mind from your regarding me as a common woman.

O Descendant of *Kakutsa*, be afraid of what the gods may ordain for you ( i.e., your wrong suspicion ); feel shame for what this assembly may think of you ; you have falsely accused me who was kidnapped by the enemy against my will.

All the activities of my mind were in you ; ( only ) my body was taken away by the *Rākshasa*. I tell the Gods, who are omnipresent, for their information that these my words are true.

O God of Winds, who continuously purifiest the three worlds and pervadest all creatures, thou knowest if my mind ever became corrupt.

Ye Waters who pervade the sky, the heavens and earth and who are very pure, know that my thoughts and feelings have been good.

Thou Earth, who bearest all things, knowest that my character has not deviated from the path of right day and night.

Thou Hot-rayed Sun, who evaporatest water, shinest brightly, dispellest darkness and travellest in the sky, exerting thyself, mayst try to know my conduct.

Thou Space, who existest in the heavens, in the earth and in the lower regions, art cognisant of what I have done or have left undone.

O L a k s h m a ṇ a, prepare my funeral-pyre which is the only remedy for this false accusation ; either I will satisfy R ā m a today or Fire will purify my sinful body by burning it".

Then seeing that L a k s h m a ṇ a has prepared the funeral-pyre with the consent of R ā m a, Sītā while moving round it, addressed the following words to the assembly—

"Let all of you ( including Vanaras ), who are present here, hear and know that for R ā m a's suspicion I throw my body into the fire.



O God of fire, if I be unchaste, save me by burning my body ; if spotless, preserve it as a friend. I like the rows of clarified-butter-streaks poured on the wall in memory of Vasu, the Chedi King, on the occasion of sacrifices, have come formally to thee who art decked with a wreath of shooting flames”.

The following is taken from Bāna's Harshacharitam (composed about 640 A. D. ) or the Life and Character of Harshavardhana or Śrī-Harsha of Thāneśvara and Kanauj, one of the greatest Hindu kings, who ruled Northern India as its paramount sovereign from 606 to 647 A. D. . On hearing from Kuntala, a cavalry-officer, that his elder brother Rajyavardhana had been treacherously assassinated by the King of Gauda (Śas'anka or Narendra Gupta ), Harsha became very angry and said to the assembled princes and ministers.—

गौडाधिपाधममपहाय कस्तादृशं महापुरुषं तत्क्षणएव  
निर्व्याजभुजवीर्यनिर्जितसमस्तराजकं मुक्तशस्त्रं कलश-योनि-  
मिव कृष्णवर्त्मप्रसूतिरीदृशेन सर्ववीरलोकविगर्हितेन मृत्युना  
शमयेदार्यम् । अनार्यं च तं मुक्त्वा भागीरथीफेनपटल-  
पाण्डुराः केषां मनःसु सरःसु राजहंसा इव परशुरामपराक्रम-

स्मृतिक्वतो न कुर्युरार्य्यशौर्य्यगुणाः पक्षपातम् । कथमिवा-  
त्युग्रस्यास्यार्य्यजीवितहरणे निदाघरवेरिव कमलाकरसलिलशोषणेऽन-  
पेक्षितप्रीतयः प्रसृताः कराः । .... नामापि गृह्णतोऽस्य  
पापकारिणः पापमलेन लिप्यत इव मे जिह्वा । किं वाङ्गी-  
कृत्यकार्य्यमार्य्यस्तेन क्षुद्रेणानुप्ररिय विगतघृणेन घुणेनैव  
सकलमुवनाह्लादनचतुरश्वन्दनस्तम्भः क्षयमुपनीतः । नूनं  
नानेन मूढेन मधुरसास्वादलुब्धेन मध्विवार्य्यजीवितमाकर्षता  
भावीदृष्टः कष्टशिलीमुखसम्पातोपद्रवः । निजगृहदूषणं जाल-  
मार्गप्रदीपकेन कञ्ज्वलमिवातिमलिनं केवलमयशः सञ्चितं  
गौडाधमेन । ..... विनयविधायिनि भग्नेऽपि चाङ्कुरे विद्यत-  
एव व्यालधारणस्य विनयाय सकलमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलस्थिर-  
शिरोभागमिदुरः स्वरतरः केशरिनस्वरः । तादृशाः कुवैकटिका  
इव तेजस्विरत्नविनाशकाः कस्य न वध्याः, क्वेदानीं यास्यति  
दुर्बुद्धिः । ..... किं पुनरीदृशे दुर्जाते जाते जातामर्षनिर्भरे  
च मनसि नास्त्येवावकाशः शोकक्रियाकरणस्य । अपिच हृदय-  
विषमशङ्क्ये मुसल्ये जीवति जाल्मे जगद्विगर्हिते गौडाधिपाधम-  
चण्डाले जिह्वेति शुष्काधरपुटः .... प्रतिकारशून्यम् शुचा  
सूतकर्तुम् । अकृतारिपुबलाबलाविलोललोचनोदकदुर्दिनस्य मे  
कुतः करयुगलस्य जलाञ्जलिदानम् । अदृष्टगौडाधमचिताधूम-

मण्डलस्य चक्षुषः स्वल्पमप्यश्रुसलिलम् । श्रूयतां मे प्रतिज्ञा ।  
 शपाम्यार्यस्यैव पादपांशुस्पर्शेन यदि परिगणितैरेव वासरैः सकल-  
 चापचापलदुर्ललितनरपतिचरणरणरणायमाननिगङ्गां निर्गौङ्गां न  
 करोमि मेदिनीं, ततस्तनूनपाति पीतसर्पिषि पतङ्ग इव पातकी  
 पातयाम्यात्मानम् ।

“Who except the Gauda king would by such a murder abhorred by all heroes and resembling that of Drona by Dhṛisṭadyumna put an end to such a great soul (Rājyavardhana) just at the moment when he without resorting to any artifice by means of his sheer valour had subdued all princes and made them surrender their weapons? Excepting that vile wretch (the Gauda king) on whose mind would not the valour and other virtues of my noble brother, which were spotless like the white foam of the Bhāgīrathī and the swans of the Manasa lake and which remind me of the prowess of Paras'urama, make a favourable impression? How could he (the Gauda king) being fierce and cruel like the summer-sun, whose hot rays dry up the water of the bed of (and thus kill) lotuses, extend his hands, slighting his friendship (with Rājyavardhana), to rob my lord of his life? The very name of

this miscreant seems to have besmirched my tongue with the taint of sin. With what design (*lit.*, for undertaking what work) did this mean-minded pitiless fellow bring about the death of the noble soul, just as a worm enters (insidiously) into and then destroys a beautiful sandalwood pillar capable of delighting the whole world? As a simpleton eager to taste honey does not take into account the stings of bees, which may afflict him, so the fool did not certainly consider the calamity of the shower of the sharp points of arrows, when he deprived this noble prince of his life. As a lamp placed in a lattice-window disfigures the whole room with soot, so this base Gauda king has by his treachery earned only foul shame to the defiling of his family.....Even when the goad, which teaches an unruly elephant obedience, is broken, there exist for his discipline the still sharper claws of the lion capable of cleaving the motionless thick heads of all mad elephants. Who should not kill those who destroy the best of spirited men and are like bad jewellers who break brilliant gems? Where will the fool now go (for protection)?..... My mind has become so full of indignation on account of this calamity that it has no room for

complying with the observances of mourning. Nay, so long as this vile outcast of a Gauda King, who is like a painful thorn in my heart, who is condemned by the whole world for his wickedness and who deserves to be pounded in a mortar, is alive, I am ashamed to utter with dry lips helpless cries in my grief.....So long as I have not been able to make the tremulous eyes of the ladies of the enemy shed tears on the day of defeat, how can my hands offer the oblation of water (to the spirit of my deceased brother)? Unless my eyes see (and come in contact) with the smoke issuing from the funeral-pyre of the vile Gauda King, there is little tear to be shed (by me). Listen to my vow : I swear by touching the dust of my late honoured brother's feet that if I be unable in a few (*lit.*, counted or limited) days to remove the Gauda King from the earth and to put resounding fetters on the feet of all princes, who have become insolent on account of their quick archery, then I will hurl my sinful self into the butter-fed fire like a moth."

The drama 'Mṛichchhakatīkam' or clay-cart, though ascribed to S'ūdraka (an imaginary and ideal Prince), was probably composed

about 650 A.D., (there being a reference to Subandu—Act VIII: S'akāra's statement, 1450—author of *Vasavadattā* which was composed before *Harsha-charitam*. *Harsha-charitam*, though mentioning many authors, omits S'ūdraka and his work) by one who adapted Bhāsa's drama *Chārudatta* for the express purpose of demonstrating the *excellence* of the amour (and the subsequent marriage between the pious Brahman merchant, Chārudatta (the hero whose devoted wife was alive) of Avānti and the beautiful and accomplished *courtesan* Vasantasena and also the desirability of overthrowing a tyrant like Pālaka and substituting for him even a good and spirited *cowherd* like Āryyaka<sup>1</sup> and also for exposing the stratagems of designing and wicked men like the S'akāra (Pālaka's depraved and wicked brother-in-law) and the defects of the administration of justice of the time—

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L. Similarly about 780 A. D. Gopāla, the first Pāla King of Bengal, though a *plebeian*, was *elected* sovereign (*vide* M. M. H. P. S'āstri, A. S. B. Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 3). See also J. R. A. S., 1928, p. 604, where Dr. Charpentier remarks, 'An episode (that of Āryyaka) inside a drama could scarcely be more loosely connected with the main action.' This indicates its introduction for a special purpose.

अवन्तीपुर्यां द्विजसार्थवाहो युवा दरिद्रः किल चारुदत्तः ।  
 गुणानुरक्ता गणिका च यस्य वसन्तशोभेव वसन्तसेना ॥  
 तयोरिदं सत्सुरतोत्सवाश्रयं नयप्रचारं व्यवहारदुष्टताम् ।  
 खलस्वभावं भवितव्यतां तथा चकार सर्व्वे किल शुद्रकोनृपः ॥

( *Mricchhakatikam*, Act I, 6 and 7 ).

The simplicity of the style of Bhasa has been retained in order to make the reader believe in its ancient origin and in order that the author might air his pet theories with impunity. The society depicted is decidedly more complex and degraded than that of Bhasa or Kalidāsa. This drama is one of the richest in its variety of Prākṛit dialects. This also proves the lateness of its composition.

After Charudatta has been acquitted of the false charge of murdering Vasantasenā and after the tyrant Palaka has been dethroned by the cowherd Āryyaka and after Chārudatta has magnanimously pardoned the wicked S'akāra, the hero (Charudatta) addresses S'arvilaka, his benefactor, in the presence of the people, who have assembled, thus—

लब्धा चारित्र्यशुद्धिश्चरणनिपतितः शत्रुरप्येव मुक्तः,  
 प्रोतखातारातिमूलः प्रियसुहृदचलामार्थकः शास्ति राजा,  
 प्राप्ता भूयः प्रियेयं, प्रियसुहृदि भवान् संगतोमे वयस्यो  
 लभ्यं किं चातिरिक्तं यदपरमधुना प्रार्थयेऽहं भवन्तं ॥

कांश्चिद्दूषयति प्रपूरयति वा, कांश्चिन्नयत्युन्नतिं,  
 कांश्चित्पातविधौ करोति च पुनः कांश्चिन्नयत्याकुलान्,  
 अन्योन्यं प्रतिपक्षसंहतिमिमां लोकस्थितिं बोधय-  
 नेप क्रीडति कूपयन्त्रवटिकान्यायप्रसक्तोविधिः ।

तथापीदमस्तू ।

क्षीरिण्यः सन्तु गावो, भवतु वसुमती सर्व्वसम्पन्नशस्या,  
 पर्जन्यः कालवर्षी, सकलजनमनोनन्दिनोवान्तु वाताः,  
 मोदन्तां जन्मभाजः सततमभिमता ब्राह्मणाः सन्तु सन्तः,  
 श्रीमन्तः पान्तु पृथ्वीं प्रशमितरिपवोधर्मनिष्ठाश्च भूपाः ॥

( Act X )

Since Āryyaka enjoys the sovereign sway  
 And holds me as his friend ;—since all foes  
 Are now destroyed, save one poor wretch released  
 To learn repentance for his former faults ;  
 Since my fair fame again is clear and this  
 Dear girl, my wife and all I cherish most,  
 Are mine once more<sup>1</sup>, I have no further suit  
 That asks for your indulgence, and no wish  
 That is not gratified. Fate views the world  
 A scene of mutual and perpetual struggle,  
 And sports with life as if it were the wheel  
 That draws the limpid waters from the well ;

1. To be added—" and you, S'arvilaka, have become my friend,"



For some are raised to affluence, some depressed  
 In want, and some are borne a while aloft,  
 And some hurled down to wretchedness and woe.  
 Then let us all thus limit our desires.  
 Full-uddered be the kine ; the soil be fertile ;  
 May copious showers descend, and balmy gales  
 Breathe health and happiness on all mankind ;  
 From pain be every living creature free ;  
 And reverence on the pious Brāhman wait ;  
 And may all monarchs, prosperous and just  
 Humble their foes and guard the world in peace.

—Wilson.

The following passages are extracted from Act III of Bhavabhūti's Mahavīracharitam (composed about 700 A.D.). When Parāśurāma, the life-long enemy of the Kshatriyas, wants to punish Rāma for breaking the S'aiva bow at the palace of Janakā, the king of Videha, the result of which has been Rāma's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janakā, S'atānanda, the priest of Janakā, becomes irritated by Parāśurāma's conceit and insolence and is on the point of cursing him—

शतानन्द—ससंरम्भं शपोदकं गृहीत्वा । भो भो  
 सभासदः । पश्यन्तु भवन्तः ।

सक्रोधः प्रसभमहं पराभिघाता-

दुद्भूय द्रुततरमाततायिनं वः ।

उत्पातक्षुभितमरुद्विघट्टमानो

वज्राग्निर्द्रुममिव भस्मसात् करोमि ॥

नेपथ्ये—प्रसीद भगवन् ! गृहानुपगते प्रशम्यतु दुरा-  
सदं तपस्तेजः ।

श्लाघ्यो गुणैर्द्विजवरश्च निजश्च बन्धु-

स्तस्मिन् गृहानुपगते सदृशं किमेतत् ।

विद्वानपि प्रचलितस्तु यदेष मार्गात्

क्षत्रं हि तत्र विजयाय शमं भज त्वम् ॥

वसिष्ठः ( शापोदकमपहरन् ) वत्स शतानन्द ! यथाह  
सम्बन्धी महाराजदशरथः । अन्यच्च—

यत् कल्याणं किमपि मनसा तद्वयं वर्त्तयाम—

स्वं जावालिप्रभृतिसहितः शान्तिमध्यग्निं कुर्व्याः ।

जेतुं जैत्रानथ खलु जपन् सूक्तसामानुवाका—

नस्मच्छ्रद्धैः सह स भगवान् वामदेवो गृणातु ।

जामदग्न्यः—परयत वटो : क्षत्रियावष्टब्धस्य गर्जितानि ।

तत् किमनेन ? भोः भोः ! कोशलेश्वरविदेहप्रसादोपजीविनो  
ब्राह्मणाः । सप्तकुलपर्वतद्वीपगोचराश्च सर्व्वक्षत्रियाः वदामः—

तपो वा शस्त्रं वा व्यपदिशति यः कश्चिदिह वः

स दर्पादुद्दामाद्विषमसहमानः कलयतु ।

अरामां निःसीरध्वजदशरथीकृत्य जगती-

मृतस्ततत्कुल्यानपि परशुराभः शमयति ॥

नेपथ्ये—भार्गव ! भार्गव ! अति हि नामावलिप्यसे !

जामदग्न्यः—असूयति नामायमस्मदवलेपाय जनकः संरब्धश्च ।

प्रविरय जनकः ।

शत्रुध्वंसात् परिणतिवशाद्गृह्यतन्त्रप्रधाने

नैरन्तर्यादथ च परमब्रह्मतत्त्वोपलम्भात् ।

क्षात्रं तेजो विजयि सहजं यद्वरंसीदिदं तत्

प्रत्यद्भूय त्वरयति पुनः कर्मणे कार्मुकं नः ॥

जाम । भो जनक !

त्वं ब्रह्मण्यः किल परिणतश्चासि धम्मेण युक्त-

स्त्वां वेदान्तेष्वचरम ऋषिः सूर्य्यशिष्यः शशास ।

इत्याचारादसि यदि मया प्रश्रयेणोपजुष्ट-

स्तत् किं रोषादविदितभयं कर्कशानि ब्रवीषि ।

जनक :—अन्त्रमेदनं क्रियते, प्रश्रयश्चेति शृणुत भोः सभासदः ।

भृगोर्वशे जातस्तपसि च किलायं स्थित इति

द्विपत्यप्यस्माभिश्चिरमिह तितिच्चैव हि कृता ।

यदा भूयोभूयस्तृणवदवधुनोत्यनिभृत-

स्तदा विप्रेऽप्यस्मिन् नमतु धनुरन्यास्ति न गतिः ।

S'at'anaṇḁa—(angrily taking the water for cursing Jāmadagṇya) O you gentlemen who are assembled here, behold—My indignation being roused by the insolent remarks of my enemy shall immediately destroy thee who art my foe, just as the fire of lightning due to a violent atmospheric disturbance burns away a tree.

( From behind the scenes Daśaratha )—Yield to compassion, My Lord, let the unendurable fire of your asceticism be quenched, as he is your guest. He is one of the best of Brāhmaṇs on account of his virtues. He is also your friend. As he has now come to your house, is it proper to treat him thus ? As he, though learned, has deviated from his proper course, there are Kshatriyas to punish (*lit.* conquer) him ; compose yourself.

Vasishṭha (taking away the water for cursing from S'atanaṇḁa)—Dear S'atanaṇḁa, do

just as Daśaratha, who has become related to you (by the marriage of his son with Sītā, the daughter of your Yajamaṇa Janaka), says Moreover—

I will do (*lit.* cause to exist) by my spiritual meditation everything which is conducive to the well-being (of the two royal families). You, S'atananda, along with Javali and the other sages should conjure peace in the presence of the sacrificial fire. Let Vamadeva (the second priest of Daśaratha, Vasishṭha being the first) with our disciples chant the Sāmavedic hymns of victory for conquering (the enemy).

Jamadagnya—Hear (*lit.* see), all of you, the thundering of this Brahmanā (S'atananda) dependent on the Kshatriyas! What does it matter? O the Brahmanā almsmen of the Kings of Kośala and Videha (Daśaratha and Janaka), O all the Kshatriyas residing in the whole of the world (literally, the seven Kula mountains and seven islands), I tell you—If there be here any one among you, who pretends to practise asceticism or to wield weapons, let him babble with his conceit, unrestrained hostility and impatience. Paraśurāma (referring to

himself) still thirsting for vengeance will appease his revered parents by removing from the world Janaka, Daśaratha and Rama.

(Janaka from behind the scenes)—Son of Bhṛigu! Son of Bhṛigu! certainly you are bragging too much.

Jāmadagnya—This is Janaka, who being excited and angry, has doubtlessly been challenging me for accusing me.

Janaka (entering)—My natural Kshatriya spirit, which led me to victory (in the past) and which declined with the destruction of my foes, and also on account of my old age, and for my making the observance of Vedic rules governing household duties my chief aim, and for my constant effort to understand the nature of the Supreme Soul, having revived, has been prompting me to wield my bow for action.

Jāmadagnya—O Janaka, (I admit) you are devoted to the Supreme Soul, old and experienced, and endowed with piety. The adult sage Yājñavalkya, who was a disciple of the God of the Sun (or who practised austerities to gain the favour of the Sun-god) taught you monotheistic Philosophy (Vedānta—see Bṛihat-Āraṇyaka of Śatapatha Brā

hmana). For this your noble character and conduct I have treated you with humility (or politeness); why do you being angry and fearless use rude words towards me ?

Janaka—Humility indeed ! though using heart-rending words (*lit.*, words calculated to tear the bowels) ! Hear, O Assembled Gentlemen ; he has been born in the family of the Bhṛigus, and has practised asceticism ; though our enemy, we have always forgiven him, but as he being insolent has been off and on shaking us like straws (*i.e.*, insulting or rebuking us), there is no other alternative than to bend our bows against (and hurl our arrows at) this Brāhmaṇa'

The following is taken from Māgha's Śiśupālabadham, composed about 700 A. D. . When being advised by Bhīshma Yudhisṭhira conferred the highest honours on Kṛishṇa in the Rājasūya sacrifice after his world-conquest, Śiśupāla became very angry and said to Yudhisṭhira in the assembly of the Princes—

यदप्रपुञ्जस्वमिह पार्थ ! मुरजितमप्रजितं सताम् ।

प्रेम विलसति महत्तदहो दयितं जनः खलु गुणीति मन्यते ॥

यदराज्ञि राजवदिहार्थमुपहितमिदं मुरद्विपि ।  
 ग्राम्यमृग इव हविर्गतदयं भजते ज्वलत्सु न महीश्वह्निषु ॥  
 अनृतां गिरं न गदसीति जगति पटहैर्विधुष्यसे ।  
 निन्द्यमथ च हरिमर्चयतस्तत्र कर्मणैव विकशल्यसत्यता ॥  
 तत्र धर्मराज इति नाम कथमिदमपष्टु पठ्यते ।  
 गौमदिनमभिदधत्यथवा भृशमप्रशस्तमपि गंगलं जनाः ॥  
 यदि वार्चनायत्नम एव किमपि भवतां पृथासुताः ।  
 शौरिरवनिपतिभिर्निषिञ्चैस्त्वमाननार्थमिह किं निमन्त्रितैः ॥  
 अथवा न धर्मममुबोधसमेयमवयात बालिशाः ।  
 कामपयमिह वृथापलितो हृतबुद्धिरप्रणिहितः सरित्मुतः ॥

\* \* \* \*

असुरस्त्वया न्यवधि कोऽपि मधुरिति कथं प्रतीयते ।  
 दण्डदलितसरधः प्रथसे मधुसूदनस्त्वमिति सूदयन् मधु ॥

\* \* \* \*

त्वयि पूजनं जगति जाल्म कृतमिदमपाकृते गुणैः ।  
 हासकरमवटते नितरां शिरसीव कङ्कतमपेतमूर्द्धजे ॥  
 मृगविद्विषामिव यदित्यमजनि मिषतां पृथासुतः ।  
 अस्य वनशुन इवापचितिः परिभाव एव भवतां भुवोऽधिपाः ॥



\* \* \* \*  
यदिनांगेनेति मतिरस्य मृदुरजनि पूतनां प्रति ।

स्तन्यमघृणमनसः पिवतः किल धर्मतो भवति सा जनन्यपि ॥

\* \* \* \*  
अयमुग्रसेनतनयस्य नृपशुरपरः पशूनवन् ।

स्वामिवधमसुकरं पुरुषः कुरुतेस्म यत्परममेतद्भुतम् ॥

(Canto XV, 14-19, 23, 33, 34, 36, 38).

(O Yudhishtira, son of Prithā, thy worshipping Kṛishṇa in the presence of the assembled Princes, though he is not worthy of being worshipped by good men, shows merely thy partiality for him who is thy relative. Thou knowest he is not a king. As only a king deserves this high honour, Kṛishṇa has been hesitating to accept thy worship, as a pariah dog cannot approach the *ghṛita* (clarified butter) of the sacrifice. Thou hast proclaimed as it were by the beat of a drum that thou never tellest a lie; but by worshipping the wicked Kṛishṇa thou hast acted a lie. O Yudhishtira I wonder why people have given thee the title of Dharma-raja or the Prince of Piety. Probably this appellation is similar to that of Tuesday which though very inauspicious is euphemistically designated 'Maṅgalavāra or auspicious day

Ye sons of Kuntī, if ye wanted to worship Kṛishṇa on any account, why have ye insulted so many valiant princes by your invitation? Ye seem to be too foolish to understand the true nature of piety. But I am surprised at the thoughtlessness of Bhīshma (the son of Bhāgīrathī) whose old age, it seems, has not brought him wisdom. . . . People praise Kṛishṇa for his slaying a powerful demon Madhu; but the fact is that he collected honey (madhu) by killing bees (honey-flies) with a stick, . . . O thoughtless Kṛishṇa, thou art devoid of all virtues: thy worshipper has always become the butt of the world's ridicule and has made his labour as vain as when one combs a hairless head.

O Princes, ye, who are lions, have been insulted by the sons of Kuntī who like jackals have worshipped Kṛishṇa.....This hard-hearted Kṛishṇa killed Putana, who was not only a woman but virtually his mother whose breasts he sucked ..... Moreover this Kṛishṇa, a beast in human shape, who tended the cattle of Kamsa (the son of Ugrasena) killed his master treacherously and thus committed the most unusual and unmanly crime."

The following is taken from Rājatarāṅgiṇī

or History of the Kings of Kashmir, composed about 1149 A. D. by Kalhaṇa, the court-poet of King Jayasimha who ruled Kashmir from 1129 to 1151 A. D. Maṭrigupta famous for his learning, piety and magnanimity was made king of Kashmir (418 to 423 A. D.), Kalhaṇa says, by his patron Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjayini. Maṭrigupta himself became the patron of Maṭrimentha, author of the epic Hayagrīva-badha. Maṭrigupta, has been identified without any cogent reason<sup>1</sup> with Kālidāsa and Harsha Vikramaditya with Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta. Maṭrigupta's kingdom was wrested from him by Pravarasena II (King of Kashmir, 423-83 A. D.) who addressed his ministers thus—

ततो विदितवृत्तान्तो मातृगुप्ताभिषेकनात् ।

निषिध्य सविधायितानमात्यानब्रवीद्वचः ॥

विक्रमादित्यमुत्सिक्तमुच्छेत्तुं यतते मनः ।

मातृगुप्तम्प्रति न नो रोषेणारुपितं मनः ॥

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1. Kalhaṇa relies on mere tradition in his description of the Kings who were remote from his own time. Secondly he does not mention the name of Kālidāsa (See also my 'Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya', p. 83)

अप्रियैरपि निष्पिष्टैः किं स्यात् क्लेशसहिष्णुभिः ।

ये तदुन्मूलेन शक्ता जिगीषा तेषु शोभते ।

यान्यब्जान्युदयं द्विषन्ति शशिनः कोऽन्यस्ततोऽसंमत—

स्तन्निर्माथिकरीन्द्रदन्तदलनं यन्नाम कोऽयं नयः ।

सामर्थ्यप्रथनाय चित्रमसमैः स्पर्द्धाम्बिधूयोनता ॥

ये तेषु प्रभवन्ति तत्र जहति व्यक्तं प्ररूढा रुषः ॥ १

Rājatarāṅgīnī, Canto III—281 to 284.

When the ministers came into his (Pravara-sena's) presence after his story had become known, he restrained them from hostility against Maṭṛigupta addressing them thus: "My mind is bent on destroying the arrogant Vikramaditya; my mind is not irritated by anger against Maṭṛigupta. What would be gained by crushing enemies (like Maṭṛigupta) who are unable to bear up with distress? It befits (me) to aspire to victory over those (like Vikramaditya) who are able to uproot the former (Maṭṛigupta). Who else is slighted by lotus-flowers but the Moon whose rise they hate? What sense is then in his breaking the teeth of those elephant-princes, which uproot those lotus-flowers? But forsooth the great, eager to manifest their strength, abandon

the contest with those who are not their equals and let loose their accumulated anger against those (like Vikramāditya) who have power over the former (Mātrigupta).<sup>1</sup>

Bhikshāchāra, a grandson of Harsha (King of Kashmir from 1090 to 1102) rebelled against and ousted for about a year (1120—21 A. D.) Sussala who ruled Kashmir from 1112 to 1128 A. D.—

ततः प्रभृत्यभूद्गोप्ता पुरः पश्चाच्च सर्व्वदा । १

विश्वेदेवा इव श्राद्धे युद्धे भिक्षुर्महामटः ॥

आहवे साहसं कुर्व्वन् सर्व्वतः सोऽभ्यधानिजान् ।

एवमस्त्रलितस्यैर्य्यमुपपत्तिमसंत्यजन् ॥

न मे राज्याय यत्तोऽयं पर्य्याप्तं दुर्य्यशः पुनः

कृत्ये प्रसक्तं पूर्व्वेषां व्यवसायं व्यपोहितुम् ॥

अनाथा इव ते नाथा विशां व्यापादनक्षणे ।

ज्ञात्वा नष्टं कुलं नाथवद्गमो नूनं स्पृहां दधुः ।

इति मत्वा सोढकष्टश्चेष्टे सुदृढनिश्चयः ।

दूयमानोऽस्मि दायाददुःखदायी दिने दिने ॥

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1. Rājatarāṅgiṇī translated by M. A. Stein.

नास्त्येवाप्राप्तकालस्य विपत्तिरिति जानतः ।

कस्य साहसवैमुख्यमुत्पद्येत यशोऽर्थिनः ॥

किं कार्यगतिकौटिल्यैरुक्तैस्तान्यथ वा कथं ।

न वदामः प्रतिज्ञाय स्वयमार्षेऽध्वनि स्थितिं ॥

(Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Book VIII. 1021 to '27)

'From that time onwards Bhikshu (Bhikṣhāchāra), the great soldier, was in battle ever the protector in the front and in the rear like the *Viśve-Devah* at the *Śrāddha*. Showing on all occasions boldness and unshaken fortitude, he did not forget to justify his course by thus addressing his adherents—

"My endeavour is not for the throne, but my purpose is to remove the great disgrace which has attached itself to the work of my forefathers. These protectors of the people, being at the time of their death left as it were without a protector, were surely envying those who had a protector, thinking (then) that their family was extinguished. In this thought I struggle on with firm resolve bearing my hardships; tormented myself I cause pain to my rival kinsman (*Sussala*) day after day. How can he who feels ambition, shrink back from a bold act, when he knows that no body dies

until his time has arrived? What would be the use of crooked designs for promoting our object if they were revealed? Or again why should we not reveal them since we have vowed to take our stand on the (straight) road indicated by the Rishis ?”

Jayasimha, king of Kashmir (1128-49 A.D.) addressed the following to his ministers (Dhanya and others), when they were hesitating in 1144 to besiege the castle of S'irah'sila in which the king's kinsman Bhoja, the Dāmara or feudal Chief Alamkara-chakra and other rebels had taken shelter, and were advising the king to conclude peace with them (the rebels)—

दुरुदकर्मथाशङ्क्य समयं ते व्यजिज्ञपन् ।  
 धन्यादयोहि तैः सन्धिर्विधेय इति भूपतिं ॥  
 तैस्तैर्निमित्तैः सन्धानमविधेयं विदन्तुपः ।  
 तानादिदेश कर्तव्यं कोट्टाट्टालकवेष्टनं ॥  
 सन्दिदेश च दायादा वञ्चेरन् ख्यातिमागताः ।  
 निजास्पदे तां जहति दत्तोत्कचेऽथ डामरे ॥  
 भूत्वा कठोरोऽप्यारम्भानिष्ठानिःसौष्ठवा ध्रुवं ।  
 क्रियातिपत्युपालम्भैर्यास्यामोऽसंशयं विशां ॥

नात्यद्भर्षदेवश्चेत् सप्ताहान्युद्यमं ततः ।

दुग्धप्रवाहं प्राप्स्यन् स श्रुत्वेत्यन्योऽपि तप्यते ॥

प्राप्तव्यं प्राप्तवान् सर्वोनिजैः कृत्यैः शुभाशुभैः ।

क्रियातिपत्तेर्लोके न त्रैलोक्यं तु मुखेऽर्प्यते ॥

पादेषु पक्षेषु च सत्सु नोर्व्यां न व्योम्नि वा पक्षपिपीलकस्य ।

पङ्गवन्धवच्चक्रमणं तु गर्भे किं सम्पदा स्यान्नियमे गतीनां ।

सहस्रपादस्य गते निमित्तमनूरुभावेऽप्यरुणः प्रजातः ।

तस्याभविष्यद्यदि पादयुग्मं ततोऽधिकं तत् किमिवाकरिष्यत् ॥

उपेक्ष्य साक्षितां तस्मात् कृतस्नं कोट्टं विवेक्यतां ।

प्रयातु तत्रैवास्माकं तेषां च पुरुषायुषं ॥

अविश्रान्तो वातोदहन इव सोऽयं जनयति प्रसार्ति

सातत्यादलयति कुलाद्रीनपि जलं ।

प्रसूते कृत्येषु व्यवसितिर्निर्व्यूढसुदृढा फ.तावासि

लोके प्रतिकलमसम्भाव्यविभवां ॥

(Rājatarangini, Book VIII, 2544-51).

"The Dāmaṛa on receiving bribes (from them) would let my rival kinsman go and they would get off to their own place, having acquired renown. If we even in this critical state (of affairs) show no persistent effort and vigour, then we surely



shall come to regret it owing to the people reproaching us with lost opportunities. Another prince too feels mortified when he hears it said "If king Harsha (of Kashmir—1090 to 1102 A. D.) had but held out for seven days, he might have got the stream of milk (or could have saved his throne)." Everybody attains what is destined for him by his acts (be they good or bad). But a lost opportunity (kriyatipatti) is held by the people equal to three worlds. The winged ant, though it has feet as well as wings, cannot move about on the ground or in the air, but only in a hole, as if it were lame and blind. What is the use of attainments when the course is laid down by necessity? Aruna, though he has no thighs, guides the course of the Sun (Sahasra-pāda). Could he have accomplished more, perhaps, if he had had two feet? Therefore cease to remain (mere) on-lookers and lay siege to the whole castle. Let our life-time pass, as well as theirs, in this enterprise. The wind here does not cease to occupy itself with the fire and it continually shakes the high mountains and the water. A firm devotion to tasks, even if it does not lead to their fulfilment, produces at every

turn in this world results of unexpected importance" <sup>1</sup>

The castle was then besieged by Dhanya and other ministers of the king and was compelled to surrender.

The following passage is extracted from Bilhāṇa's *Vikramāṅkadeva-charitam* or the Life of the Author's Patron, *Vikramāṅkadeva Tribhuvana malla*, the Chālukya king, who ruled at Kalyāṇa (near Bidar in the Nizam's dominions) from 1075 to 1126 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It is the speech of king *Āhava malla* (1042 to 1068 A.D.), the father of *Vikramāṅkadeva*, to his ministers, when he being stricken with an incurable malignant fever, decided to drown himself in the *Tuṅgabhadra*, the *Gaṅga* of the south—

‘अन्तर्दाहमिवा लोक्य प्रियां कीर्तिं विनिर्गताम् ।

दर्शयन्दशनज्योत्स्नामथोवाच स मन्त्रिणः ॥

क्षिप्ता मुकुटमाणिक्यपट्टिकासु महीभुजाम् ।

टंकेनेव प्रतापेन निजान्नाक्षरमालिका ॥

दिग्मित्तयः शरश्रेणिकृतवृि परपराः ।

स्वयशोराजहंसस्य प्रापिताः पञ्जरश्रियम् ॥

1. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* translated by M. A. Stein

2. 1127 according to Dr. Venkatasubbiah, *Indian Antiquary*, 1919.

अदरिद्रीकृता भूमिर्विमुद्राभिर्विभूतिभिः ।  
 नीता कुलवधूसाम्यं साधूनां वेरमसु श्रियः ॥  
 प्राप्तः कोदण्डपाण्डित्यजातलक्ष्मीसमागमः ।  
 काकुत्स्थनिविडस्थामा सूनुर्विक्रमलाञ्छनः ॥  
 तेनैव युवराजत्वं समारोप्य यशस्विना ।  
 एष साम्राज्यभारस्य बोद्धा सोमेश्वरः कृतः ॥  
 इति मे कृतकृत्यस्य माहेश्वरशिरोमणेः ।  
 गिरिजानाथनगरे समारोहणमुत्सवः ॥  
 आत्मानमुन्मदद्वाःस्थगलहस्तिनसेवकाः ।  
 अगम्यमपि दैवस्य विदन्ति हतपार्थिवाः ॥  
 मम शुद्धे कुले जन्म चालुक्यवसुधाभृताम् ।  
 कियन्त्योनि गताः श्रोत्रमैत्रीं शास्त्रार्थविप्रुषः ॥  
 जानामि करिकर्णान्तचञ्चलं हतजीवितम् ।  
 मम नान्यत्र विश्वासः पार्वतीजीवितेश्वरात् ॥  
 उत्संगे तुंगभद्रायास्तदेष शिवचिन्तया ।  
 बाञ्छाम्यहं निराकर्तुं देहग्रहविदम्बनाम् ॥  
 यातोयमुपकाराय कायः श्रीकण्ठसेवया ।  
 कृतघ्नव्रतमेतस्य यत्र तत्र विसर्जनम् ॥

तथेति वचनं राज्ञः प्रत्यपद्यन्त मन्त्रिणः ।

उचिताचरणे केषां नोत्साहचतुरं मनः ॥

(Canto IV, 49 to 61).

'He (King Āhavamalla) being afflicted with the heat of his internal organs on account of his malignant fever, as painful as the loss of his dear fame, spoke thus to his ministers with his beautiful teeth shining brightly like a moonlight night, "I have engraved as it were on the gem-adorned turbans of (conquered) princes by means of my power, which is like a diamond-needle, the letters of my commands. I have converted, as it were, into a cage for the residence of my swan-like glory all the countries in the four directions in which my arrows have caused a series of perforations. Without impoverishing my kingdom and without limiting its prosperity I have led wealth into the houses of honest men, as if she were a devoted wife. I have obtained as my son Vikramañka (or Vikrama-lāñchhana, i.e., one whose chief sign is valour) who has the strength and determination of the Kakusthas (or the renowned solar royal family of Ayodhya) and to whom there has been an accession of prosperity

( territories ) for his skill in wielding the bow. It is the glorious Vikramaṅka who has (really) conferred the vicegerency on his elder brother, Someśvara, and has made him the bearer of the burden of the empire. Thus I being one of the best worshippers of S'iva have celebrated the festivity of his investiture in the town consecrated to the God S'iva (*lit.*, the husband of the daughter of the Mountain-God). The worsted princes whose followers have been insulted (*lit.*, seized by the neck) by my insolent door-keepers know that Fortune has been fighting shy of them. On account of my being born in the stainless family of Chālukya Kings, some particles of sacred love have entered into (*lit.*, made friends with) my ears. Knowing that this trivial life is fickle (*lit.*, tremulous) like the extremities of the ears of an elephant, I have reposed all my trust in none other than S'iva (*lit.*, the husband of Pārvatī). Therefore I desire presently to destroy this illusory body in the waters (*lit.*, lap) of the Tuṅgabhadra, while meditating on S'iva. As this body (of mine) has (so long) been employed in worshipping S'iva for the good ( of men ), it will be an ungrateful act, if I part with it at an unseemly place (*lit.*, at all

places)." The ministers assented to the words of the King, saying "Let this be done"; for whose minds are not keen on encouraging right conduct?"

Bilh<sup>a</sup>na who left his native land, Kash<sup>m</sup>ir, about 1062 A. D. and composed his Vikramāṅka deva-  
charitam about 1087 A. D. addresses Princes  
thus at the end of the eighteenth canto—

स्वेच्छाभङ्गुरभाग्यमेघतडितः शक्या न रोद्धुं श्रियः ।  
प्राणानां सततं प्रयाणपटहश्रद्धा न विश्राम्यति ॥  
त्रायं येऽत्र यशोमये वपुषि वः कुर्वन्ति काव्यामृतै-  
स्तानाराध्य गुरुन्विधत्त सुकवीन्निर्गर्वमुर्वीश्वराः ॥  
हे राजानस्यजत सुकविप्रेमबन्धे विरोधं ।  
शुद्धा कीर्त्तिः स्फुरति भवतां नूनमेतत्प्रसादात् ॥  
तुष्टैर्बद्धं तदलघु रघुस्वामिनः सच्चरित्रं  
क्रुद्धैर्नीतास्त्रिभुवनजयी हास्यमार्गं दशस्यः ॥  
यस्य स्वेच्छाशवरचरितालोकनत्रस्तयेव ।  
न्यस्तश्चूडाशशिकलिकया कापि दूरे कुरङ्गः ॥  
स व्युत्पत्तिं सुकविवचनेष्वादिकर्त्ता श्रुतीनां  
देव ! प्रयानचलदुहितुर्निश्चलां वः करोतु ॥

( Princes of the earth ! prosperity, the wilfully unstable lightning of the cloud of fate cannot be enchained. Incessantly sounds the drum that announces the departure of the breath of life. Worship then those true poets who work the salvation of your bodies of glory through the nectar of their verse, and renouncing pride make them your spiritual guides.

O Ye Kings ! abstain from opposing the attachment of true poets. In sooth pure flame comes to you through their favour. Pleased they composed that grave beautiful life of Rama ; angered they made ten-headed Ravana, the conqueror of the world, an object of derision.

May the God who is the first creator of the revealed texts, the dear husband of Parvatī, give you intelligence to understand the sayings of true poets—he who imitating the ways of the S'avaras frightened the moon-sickle placed on his crest, so that she concealed her deer in some distant hiding place.)

—Bühler.

From the passages cited above, it will appear that analogy plays an important part in these addresses. Metaphor and simile, antithesis, interrogation, sarcasm and other figures of speech and rigid

argumentation are common and even sophistry is not rare.

It may also have been noticed that the simple style of the epics gradually degenerated into the turgid rhetoric of Harshacharitam, and Kiratarjuniyam, the almost meaningless passages of which, full of puns and jingles, we have purposely omitted.

It may be stated that as the instances adduced are culled mostly from literature and not from life, they are artificial. This they to some extent are. But we must remember that literature "receives its chief value from the stamp and esteem of ages through which it has passed."

The paucity of eloquent public speeches in Ancient India is thus accounted for by Dr. Keith in his History of Sanskrit Literature (pp. 144-5), "We may remember that India produced no oratory despite the distinct power often displayed both in the epics and classical kāvyas of rhetorical presentment of a case by opposing disputants. Oratory doubtless, as history proves, has flourished best where there has been political freedom. Athens was celebrated for oratory as Sparta was deficient in it, and Rome produced its best orators



when there still was a republic in which certain classes at least had effective political rights. It may be that India failed to produce historians because the great political events which affected her during the period up to 1200 A. D. did not call forth popular action in the sense in which the repulse of the Persian attacks on Greece evoked the history Herodotos. The national feeling which is at least a powerful aid to the writing of history was not evoked in India in the same manner as it was when democratic states found the most serious element of resistance to the Persian attack at a time when more oligarchic governments were apparently far less deeply moved by any sentiment of nationalism."

We agree with Dr. Keith that oratory and history flourish best there where exists political freedom or where in other words all classes of a community are allowed to express their thoughts and feelings freely. Though democracies like the Greek States did not exist in ancient India, yet the governments were not generally autocratic (See my *Kalidasa Vikramaditya*, pp. 412—15); and the Brāhmanas at least could not usually be restrained even by the sovereign from giving vent to their ideas and feel-

ings and composing brilliant dialogues as in the Epics and Dramas and writing learned treatises on Philosophy, Law, Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicine, and the majority of the authors belonged to this sacerdotal caste. They could furnish us with genealogies<sup>1</sup> as in the Puraṇas, they could compose biographies like Harshacharitam and Vikramāṅkadevacharitam and histories like Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It is to the Brāhmaṇs, as Dr. Keith has said, that all Indian thought 'owes its life and strength.'<sup>2</sup>

Epigraphic records or inscriptions on stonepillars, caves, copper-plates, stone-slabs and statues, many of which have been destroyed or disfigured beyond recognition by the fanatical zeal of Mōhammadan conquerors, bear ample testimony to the fact that the ancient Hindus understood the value of sober history. Kalhaṇa the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇī, seems to be a pioneer in the field of modern his-

1. "In this connexion two expressions—इच्छन्ति and शंसन्ति seem to indicate that genealogies were not accepted blindly, but were scrutinised in order to ascertain the true or most trust-worthy version"  
—Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, page 28.

2. History of Sanskrit Literature, Preface, page xviii.

torical research. He describes thus the materials on which he has based his famous history—

दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसूरिग्रन्था राजकथाश्रयाः ।

मम त्वेकादशगता मतं नीलमुनेरपि ॥

दृष्टैश्च पूर्वभूभर्तृप्रतिष्ठावस्तुशासनैः ।

प्रशस्तिपट्टैः शास्त्रैश्च शान्तोशेषभ्रमक्लमः ॥ 1

I have consulted eleven histories of kings composed by my learned predecessors and also studied the theory of Nīla muni. By looking into the permanent documents (*e.g.* copper-plates) relating to the consecration of gods and grant of property by former kings and by looking into laudatory inscriptions and authoritative books I have overcome the worry of endless errors.

*inscription*

The Aśoka pillars, the pillar of Samudragupta, Yaśodharman and others furnish much accurate information of the times in which they were erected. Not only were historical achievements, religious precepts and secular and religious gifts thus recorded, but also poems and dramas of no mean order were preserved in this manner. The Lalitavigraharāja Nāṭaka and Harakeli Nāṭaka, for example, were inscribed on stone-slabs

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1. First Taranga, verses 14 and 15.

in the Sanskrit College (now called *Ādhai-dinkā-jhopā*) which had been founded at Ajmer by *Vīśa-l-dēva*, the first Chohan Emperor of India in 1153 A.D., and which was later on partly destroyed and converted into a mosque by Shahabuddin Ghori who attacked Ajmer in 1192 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

National sentiment was stirred and imagination stimulated by victories like that won over the Greeks under Menander or Demetrios<sup>2</sup> by *Pushyamitra* about 154 B. C. and described in *Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram* or by those of *Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya)* over the Śakas of *Surāshtra*, *Malwa* and *Mathurā* about 400 A. D. which led to the composition of *Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśam*, or by that of *Harsha* of *Kanauj* and *Thāneśvar* over the *Gauda King* about 610 A. D. which evoked *Bāṇa's Harshacharitam* or by those of *Lalitaditya* of *Kashmir* over *Yaśovarman* of *Kanauj* and others about 740 A.D. narrated with so much ardour by *Kalbha*<sup>3</sup> in his *Rajataranginī* or by that of *Yaśovarman* of *Kanauj* over the

1. See Chapter VII, H. B. Sarda's 'Ajmer'.

2. See Jayaswal's. Hathigumpha inscription (J. B. O. R. S., 1927) and H. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, p. 249.

3. See my *Kālidāsa and Vikamāditya*, pages 33 and 328.

Gauḍa-king (about 730 A. D.) which stimulated the composition of the Prākṛit Epic Gauḍa-vāha by Vākpatirḍjā or by those of Vikramāṅkadeva of Kalyāṇa (about 1080 A. D.) recorded with so much enthusiasm by Bilhāṇa in his Vikramāṅka-devacharitam or by that at Tirauri in 1191 A. D. won over Sultan Shahabuddin Ghorī who had been defeated six times and twice taken prisoner, but magnanimously pardoned by Prithvīrāja of Ajmir (1179—92) the last Hindu Emperor of India, the flower of Rājputa chivalry, "whose whole life was one unbroken chain of chivalrous deeds and glorious exploits" described in the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya and whose untimely end at Thāneśvar in 1192 bears ample testimony to the treachery of his countrymen and the ingratitude of his enemy. But the fondness of ancient Sanskrit authors for idéalisation and exaggeration has made it extremely difficult for modern seekers after truth to separate the grain from the chaff. This fondness has led the former to regard Hyperbole (अतिशयोक्ति) as the best of the figures of speech (See Dandi's Kavyadars'a).

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1. Colonel Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, Vol. I, page 445 and Mr. Harbilas Sarda's 'Ajmere', pp. 154-5.

Dr. Bühler in his introduction to Bilh<sup>67</sup>na's Vikramañkadeva-charitam says, "The reason for the scarcity of such works (biographies) is I believe, the fact that the Paṇḍits have a greater liking for the wonderful legends of the heroic age and for the no less marvellous stories of those kings whom for one reason or other they have lifted out of the sphere of matter of fact history and transferred to the region of fiction. For the Paṇḍit, Rāma, Arjuna and Nala are as much historical persons as S'ivājī or Bājī Rāo Peshwā; only they appear so much more interesting to him, because their deeds are more marvellous and they are surrounded by the halo of sanctity that encircles the happier yugas in which they are supposed to have lived.....The reason why the Sanskritist longs in vain for works that could serve as foundations for his historical researches lies not, therein, that the rulers of India found no contemporaries willing to chronicle their deeds, but therein that nobody cared to preserve historical works from destruction or to make them easily accessible by copying and recopying the original manuscripts."

To account for this love of idealisation and exaggeration ingrained in the minds of ancient Indians,

which prevented them from writing sober history and recording accurately important events and transactions including public speeches and from preserving the few chronicles which were written, is equivalent to tracing the history of Brāhmaṇic Psychology from the earliest time, a task beyond the competency of the present writer.

To make the belief of the Indians in the Law of Karma responsible for many of their faults of omission and commission including their lack of historical sense, as Dr. Keith has done, is we think, beside the mark, for notwithstanding their belief in the far-reaching effects of deeds, they have been frequently advised not to remain contented with their lot but to strive and profit by the examples of others. To warn king Hars Harvardhana against carelessness and too much 'confidingness', Skandagupta, his minister and commandant of his war-elephants cited more than twenty instances, both legendary and historical, of Nāgasena of Padmāvati (Padampawaya in Malwa), Śrutavarman of Śrāvastī, the king of Vatsa, Sumitra (son of Agnimitra) Brihadratha (the last of the

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1. History of Sankrit Literature, page 146. See also my Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya pages 531-34.

Mauuryas) the son of S'isunāga, Bhadrāsena of Kalinga, the last of the Śūṅgas, Kumārasena, Gaṇapati (son of the king of Videha) etc.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Keith has said elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> "The whole of Indian Philosophy suffers from the fundamental error of ignoring the will..... The conception (the doctrine of Karmaṇ) is one rather of logical sequence than of moral value; logically there is no possibility of evading the Karmaṇ and so a man's action is irrevocably determined; illogically enough this can be represented as urging him to good deeds in this life, but the truth is clearly that the good deeds will result from Karmaṇ itself and all attempts in Indian thought to modify this fatalism are illogical"..... We do not know Dr. Keith's attitude towards the Biblical doctrine of 'original sin' which may be compared to some extent with the law of Karmaṇ and which is believed to co-exist with the capacity for following Biblical precepts nor towards the Greek doctrine of Necessity as is implied in the belief of the Greeks in Fates and Furies. But modern science has demonstrated the

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1. Harshacharitam, Chapter VI.

2. J. K. A. S., 1915, page 836.



truth of the law of heredity according to which physical and mental tendencies which are transmitted from generation to generation through the inherited nervous nucleus are capable of being modified by physical and social environments, and also by the power of the human will. Similarly the Hindus believe that the Law of Karma may be counteracted to some extent by Purushakara ( Power of the Will ) ; otherwise Śāstric moral and religious precepts would be meaningless. In nature there are many instances of the concurrent operation of contrary laws. The path of the projectile should be a parabola under the law of the gravitation, but the law of the resistance of air stands in the way. Again in the deflection of the ray of light from a distant star, the law of gravitation interferences with that of rectilinear propagation. The belief of the Hindus in the capacity of the Will for modifying the effects of one's past deeds has been thus expressed in the *Matsya-Purāṇam*.—

दैवे पुरुषकारे च किं ज्यायस्तत् ब्रवीहि मे ।

अत्र मे संशयो देव छेत्तुमर्हस्यशेषतः ॥

मत्स्य उवाच ।

स्वमेव कर्म दैवाख्यं विद्धि देहान्तरार्जितम् ।  
तस्मात् पौरुषमेवेह श्रेष्ठमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥  
प्रतिकूलं तथा दैवं पौरुषेण विहन्यते ।  
मङ्गलाचारयुक्तानां नित्यमुत्थानशीलिनाम् ॥

\* \* \* \*

पौरुषेणाप्यते राजन् प्रार्थितव्यं फलं नरैः ।  
दैवमेव विजानन्ति नराः पौरुषवर्जिताः ॥

\* \* \* \*

तस्मात् सदैव कर्त्तव्यं सधर्मं पौरुषं नरैः ।  
विपत्तावपि यस्येह परलोके ध्रुवं फलं ॥  
नालसाः प्राप्नुवन्त्यर्थान् न च दैवपरायणाः ।  
तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन आचरेद्धर्ममुत्तमम् ॥ 1

Manu said to Matsya ( the Fish-incarnation of God )—O Lord ! be pleased to remove completely my doubt regarding the comparative strength of Fate and the human Will.

The Fish replied, "Dai va ( Fate or Destiny ) is the influence exerted on a man by the deeds of his past lives. Learned men have regarded Will-power as superior. An adverse fate can be overcome by the force of the will of righteous and industrious men.

.....

O King ! men can attain their desired ends by the strength of their will. Men devoid of a strong will confide in destiny.....

Therefore men should always exert their will in a righteous cause ; even if they fail in this life they are bound to attain their ends in the life to come. Indolent men relying on Fate can never meet with success. Therefore one should exert oneself most in doing what is good and right."

In this connexion the following cutting from the Calcutta ' Statesman ' of the 2nd April, 1930 will be of interest :—

'Re-incarnation was suggested as a solution to many of life's problems by Mrs. N. Hoare in the course of an interesting address on Evolution to the Calcutta Rotary Club, at Peliti's yesterday.

"Without re-incarnation," she said, "we have no proof of a divine justice that can satisfy the human

intellect, that can quench its thirst for a divine ideal or give it a positive faith and the just working-out of the laws of right and wrong.

First of all there is the physical inequality at birth; one person is born beautiful, another ugly, deformed or diseased. But even more important is the seeming inequality of mental, artistic or moral qualities at birth. Why is one born with a singing voice, the painter's hand or the poet's soul; another born dull, inarticulate, uncouth? How well can we explain the phenomena of born natural ability, of child-prodigies, of genius itself, except by saying that the person so born has worked hard along those particular lines in past lives and comes into re-incarnation bringing with him the fruit of his past labours?"

"When we once realize," added the speaker, "that a man begins each new life exactly where he left off in the past life to reap exactly what he himself has sown, then the whole panorama of life becomes harmonious and all seeming inconsistencies disappear."

To say<sup>1</sup> that "the acceptance by the Indian mind of the miraculous in the shape of divine intervention, magic and witchcraft and the rarity in India of the scientific attitude of mind which seeks to find natural causes for events of nature" account for this want of historical insight, is an insufficient explanation, firstly because even the most advanced countries of Europe are not free from this imputation, and secondly because elaborate treatises on Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy etc. were composed in India in ancient times. Again the statement<sup>2</sup>, that the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇs that all action and existence are a positive evil has made them feel but little inclination to chronicle historical events, is supported neither by the presence even in Greece (which produced famous histories) of Cynics like Diogenes, nor by the divine philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā which condemns unequivocally such a life of inaction.

Whether this defect (fondness for idealisation and exaggeration) of the Hindus was due to their

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1. Dr. Keith's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 146.

2. Dr. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 11.

laying greater stress on the spiritual and unseen world than on the material and visible universe, or to the desire of the priestly caste to perpetuate their authority over the masses by the wonderful tales of heroes and gods who could be approached only through them or of kings whose chief ministers they were or to their desire for securing favours from their royal patrons or to their conviction that the ideal is a more impressive and potent educator than the actual or to their comparative isolation from foreigners on account of their religious and social prejudices and economic self-sufficiency, which prevented them from correcting their erroneous notions by the knowledge of the progress of events and of science, art and literature in the other parts of the world, it will be for learned researchers to determine.

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# INDEX

## A

Abhiñāna-Śakuntalam	49
Abhimanyu	... 47
Ādhāi-dinkā-jhopfā	... 97
Aganāḥ	... 53
Agnimitra	... 100
Āhavamalla	... 87, 89
Ajmere	... 97
Alamkāra-Chakra	... 84
Ananta	... 36, 38
Arjuna	... 47, 50, 99
Aruṇa	... 86
Aryan	... 40
Āryyaka	... 67, 68, 69
Aśoka	... 42, 43, 96
Assembly (popular, in ancient India)	... 9
Asuras	... 53, 55
Atharva-Veda	... 2
Athens	... 3, 93
Attic	... 4, 5, 6
Avanti	... 67
Ayodhyā	... 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 56, 57, 89

## B

Bāji Rao Peshwā	... 99
Bali	... 28
Bāṇa	... 62, 97
Bengal	... 67
Bhadrasena	... 101
Bhagavadgītā	... 106
Bhāgīrathī	... 64, 79
Bharata	6, 12, 14, 58
Bhāravi	... 50
Bhāsa	... 45, 67, 68
Bhatti	... 55
Bhatti-Kāvyaṃ	... 55
Bhavabhūti	... 70
Bhikṣāchāra (or Bhikṣu)	82, 83
Bhīma	... 47
Bhīṣma	16, 20, 21, 25, 76, 76
Bilhana	87 ff, 91, 98, 99
Bhoja	... 84
Bhrigu	... 75, 76
Biblical	... 101
Bidar	... 87

Borderers ...	44
Brāhmaṇs 39, 41, 42, 67,	
70, 73, 74, 76, 94, 95, 100.	106
Brewster, E. H.	40, 41
Bṛihadhratha (Maurya)	100
Bṛihaspati ...	26
Bṛihat-Āraṇyaka ...	75
Buddha ...	39, 40, 41
Buddhist ...	42
Bühler, Dr....	92, 99
Bundelkhand ...	16

## C

Cæsars ..	4
Ceylon ...	7
Chālukya (king)	89, 90
Chandra Gupta II.	
(Vikramāditya)	80, 97
Charpentier, Dr.	67
Chārudatta	67, 68
Chedi ...	16, 62
Chitrakūṭa ...	7
Chohan ...	97
Cicero 2, 4, 5, 16, 17, 42	
Comitia ...	5
Cynics (of Greece) ...	106

## D

Daityas 26, 27, 28, 30, 31,	34
Daksha ...	39

Dāmara ...	84, 85
Daṇḍi ...	98
Daśaratha 7, 14, 73, 73, 74	
David, Mrs. Rhys ...	39
Demetrios ...	97
Demosthenes ...	5
De Oratore (Cicero's)	2
Dhanushkoṭi ...	7
Dhanya ...	84, 87
Dharmarāja ...	78
Dhṛiṣṭadyumna ...	64
Dhṛitarāshtra 22, 45, 47	
Diogenes ...	106
Diti ...	34
Droṇa ...	20, 25, 64
Drupada ...	20
Duryyodhana 22, 45, 46, 47	
Duṣśāsana ...	47, 49
Durvāṣā ...	49
Dushmanta ...	49
Dūta-Ghaṭotkacham ...	45
Dūtavākyam ...	45

## E

Europe ...	106
------------	-----

## F

Fates (Greek) ...	101
Furies (Greek) ...	101



## G

Gaṇapati (Son of the king of Videha) ...	101
Gauda ...	62, 64, 65 66, 97, 98
Gaudavaha ...	98
Ghatotkacha ...	47, 48
Girivraja ...	7
Gopāla ...	67
Gotama ...	41
Grammar ...	55
Greece ...	94, 106
Greeks ...	3, 4, 97, 101
Greek States ...	3, 94

## H

Hanumān ...	6
Harakelīnātaka ...	96
Hari ...	39
Harsha (king of Kashmir) ...	82, 86
Harshacharitam ...	62, 67, 93 95, 97, 101
Harshavardhana ...	62, 97, 100
Harsha Vikramāditya ...	80
Hastināpura ...	22
Hāthigumpha -	
Inscription ...	97
Hayagrīvabhadra ...	80
Hercules (Constellation) ...	10

Herodotos ...	94
Hidimbā ...	47
Hindus ...	95, 98, 102, 106
Hiranyakaśipu ...	31, 36
Hoare, Mrs. (on Evolution and Re-incarnation) ...	104
Hortensius ...	17

## I

Ikshvāku ...	9
India 6, (South) ...	7, 94, 97 99, 106
Indian ...	95, 99, 101, 106
Indian Antiquary ...	87
Indra (in the Rigveda); ...	1;
in the Epic Age ...	10, 30

## J

Jacobi ...	7
Jalalpur (in the Punjab) ...	7
Jāmadagnya ...	73, 75
Janaka ...	70, 74, 75, 76
Jarāsandha ...	21
Jāyāli ...	74
Jayasimha ...	80, 84
Jayaswal, K. P. ...	97
J. R. A. S. ...	101

## K

Kaikeyi ...	12
Kākutstha ...	60, 89

Kalhyāna	... 80 ff. 95, 98
Kālidāsa	49, 68, 80, 94, 97
Kaliṅga	... 43, 101
Kalyāṇa	... 87, 98
Kaṁsa	... 47, 79
Kānya-Kubja or Kanauj	7, 62, 97
Karma Law of)	100ff
Karṇa	... 25
Kārtikeya	... 50
Kashmir	80, 82, 86, 91
Kāthiawar	... 55
Kaurava	... 20
Kausāmbī	... 7
Keith, Dr.	93, 94, 95, 101, 106
Kekaya	... 7
Kirātārjunyam	50, 93
Kosala	... 74
Kṛipā	... 25
Kṛishṇa	6, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24, 45, 47, 76, 78, 79
Kshatriyas	25, 26, 70, 73, 74, 75
Kula	... 74
Kumārasena	... 101
Kuntala	... 62
Kuntī	... 21, 79
Kurus	16, 20, 21, 22, 45, 46

## L

Lakshmaṇa	10, 56, 57, 61
-----------	----------------

Lalitāditya	... 97
Lalitavigraharājanātaka	96

## M

Macdonell, Dr.	... 106
Madhu	... 79
Māgha	... 77
Mahābhārata	... 17
Mohammadan	... 95
Mahāvīracharitam	... 70
Mālavikāgnimitram	... 97
Malwa	... 97, 100
Mānasa Lake	... 64
Maṅgala-vāra	... 78
Manu	... 103
Marīchi	... 38, 39
Mātāṅga	... 26
Mathurā	... 97
Mātrigupta	... 80, 81, 82
Mātrimentha	... 80
Matsya Incarnation	... 103, 104
Matsyapurāṇa	28, 102, 103
Mawana	... 22
Meerut	... 22
Menander	... 97
Mṛichchhakatikam	... 66

## N

Nāgasena	... 100
Nala	... 99

Narendragupta	...	62
Nāsik	...	7
Nilamuni	...	96
Nizam's	...	87
Nuwara Eliya	...	7

## P

Padmavati (Padampawaya)		100
Pāla	...	67
Pālaka	...	67, 68
Pañchavati	...	7
Pāṇḍavas	17, 21, 24, 25,	26
Paṇḍits	...	99
Pāṇḍu	...	22
Paraśurāma	64, 70, 74	
Pargiter F. E.	7, 31, 95	
Pārvati	...	90, 92
Pātaliḡāma or Pātaliputra		(Patna) 7, 41
Persian	...	94
Pippalāda-Rishi	...	2
Prahlāda	28, 31, 36, 38	
Prākṛit	...	68
Praśnopanishad	...	2
Pravarasena	80, 81	
Prithā	...	78
Prithvirāja of Ajmir	...	98
Prithvirājaviḡaya	...	98
Purāṇas	...	26, 95

Pyrushakāra (will-power)		102 ff.
Pushy <sup>a</sup> (star)	...	10
Pushyamitra	...	97
Putāṇa	...	79

## R

Raghu	...	16
Raghuvamśam	...	97
Rākshasas	...	58, 60
Rākshaṣī	...	47
Rājagṛiha	...	7
Rājasūya	...	17, 76
Rājatarāṅgiṇī	79ff, 95, 98	
Rājput	...	98
Rajyavardhana	62, 64	
Rāma	6, 7, 10, 11, 56, 57,	58, 61, 70, 75, 92, 99
Rāmāvaṇa	...	7, 12
Rāmeśvaram	...	7
Rāvaṇa	...	58, 92
Rāyachaudhuri, H.		97
Rhetoric	...	4, 55
Romans	...	4, 17
Rome	...	4, 93

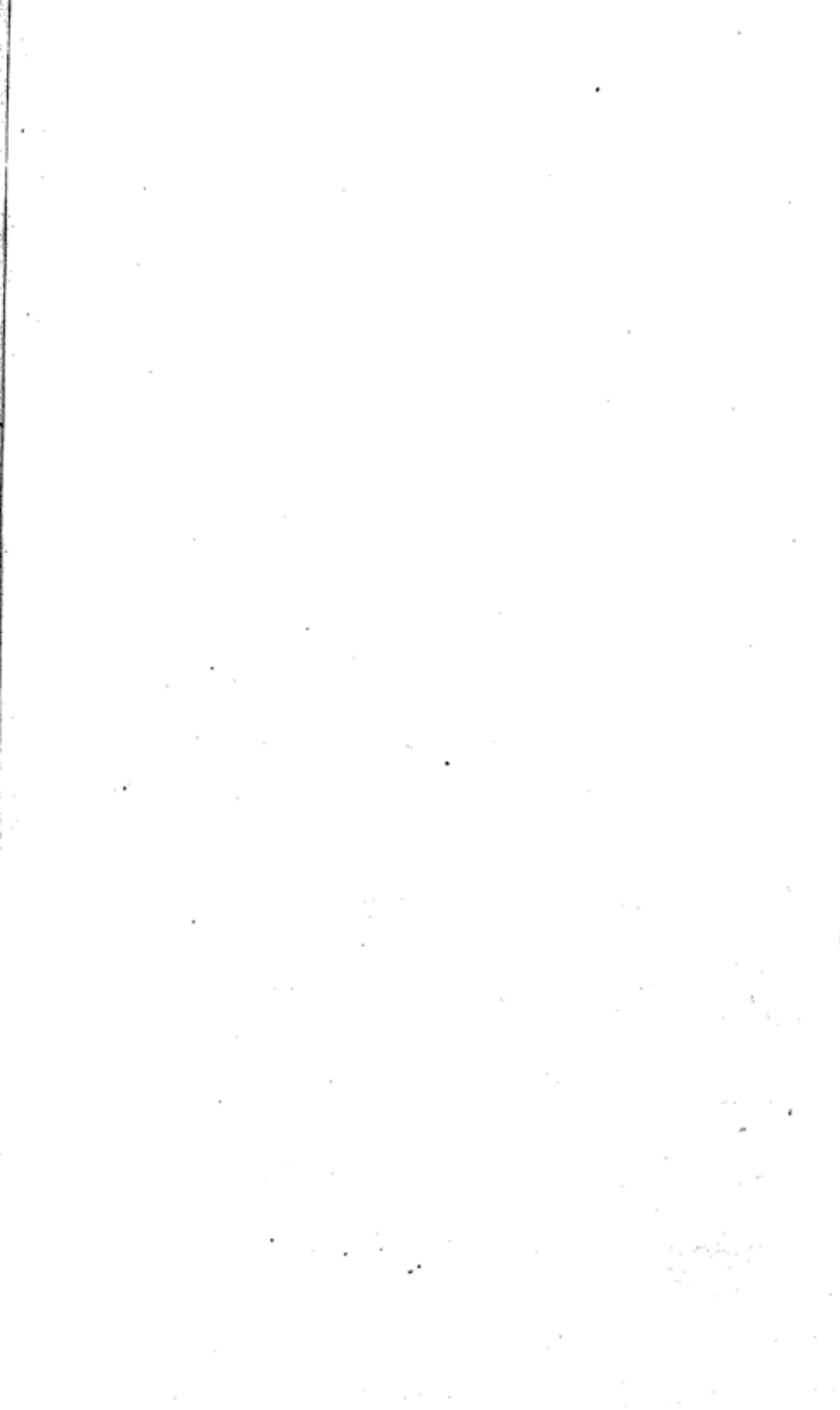
## S

Saḡasrapāḡa (the Sun)	...	86
Saiva	...	50, 70
Sakāra	...	67, 68
Sakas	...	97
Sakuni	...	25

Śakuntalā	49,50	Śrāvastī	7, 100
Samudragupta	80,96	Śrīharsha	52
Samyutta Nikāya	39	Śrīdhrasena	55
Sardā, H. B.	97,98	Śrutavarman	100
Śārṅgarava	49,50	Srutavarman (Calcutta) the	104
Śarvilaka	68,69	Stein, M.A.	82ff.
Śaśāṅka	62	Subandhu	67
Śāstri, M. M. H. P.	67	Sūdraka	66, 67
Śātānanda	70, 73, 74	Śukra	26, 27
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa	75	Sumitra	100
Śavaras	92	Śuṅga	101
Śāvarnika Age	28	Surāshtra	97
Schleinigier	3	Sussala	82,83
Shahabuddin Ghorī	97, 98		
Sicily	16	T	
Śīraḥśilā	84	Tāraka	28
Śīsunāga	101	Thāṇeśvara	62, 97, 98
Śīsupāla	16, 20, 76	Tirauri	98
Śīsupāla-badham	76.	Tod's Rājasthān	98
Sita	56, 58, 61,70	Tribhuvanamalla	87
Sita eliya	7	Tuṅgabhadra (the Gaṅgā of the South)	87, 90
Śiva	53, 54, 90	U	
Śivāji	99	Ugrasena	79
Skanda	50	Ujjayinī	80
Skandagupta	100	V	
Skellon	3	Vākpatirāja	98
Smith, V.	42, 43	Valabhi (Vata)	55
Someśvara	90	Vāmadeva	74
Sparta	93		

Vānaras	6	Vīśaldeva	97
Vasantasenā	67, 68	Vishṇu	17, 31, 34, 35, 38
Vāsavadattā	67	Vishṇuprāṇam	31ff.
Vasishṭhā	73	Vīśvedevāḥ	83
Vasu	62	Vṛishṇi	21
Vasudeva	20	Vyāsa	20
Vāsudeva	45		
Vatsa	100	W	
Vāyupurāṇam	26	Winds (God of)	2
Venkata-Subbiah, Dr.	8	Y	
Verres	16, 17, 42	Yājñavalikya	8
Videha	70, 74	Yama	30
Vidura	24	Yamunā	10
Vikramāditya	81, 82, 94	Yaśodharman	92
Vikramāṅkadeva-charitam	87ff, 91, 95, 98, 99	Yaśovarman	97
Vikaramāṅkadeva Tribhuvanamalla or Vikrama		Yavana	7
lañchhana	87, 89, 90, 98	Yudhisthira	18, 21, 22, 45
			467, 76, 78





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